WORLD DRIFT

EDWARD A. ROSS

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BY

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PREFACE

Of the thirteen papers which make up this volume certainly eight or nine deal with general tendencies and hence justify the title. Even the remaining papers consider crescent problems which have to be faced by a large part of humanity.

Many a student of society is a *monist,* finding in some one tendency the key to what is happening in the disturbed sections of mankind. But as for me I am a *pluralist;* I think I see several such keys. One is the radiation of culture from the advanced to the backward peoples as described in Chapter I. Another is the suspension of the survival of the fittest as set forth in Chapters II and III. The intensification of capitalism is the theme of Chapter V. Chapters VI and VII bring out the culture conflict between East and West. The next two chapters disclose certain problems and experiences of the student of world conditions. "The Military Mind" portrays a type that pesters at least a fourth of our race.

So perhaps the title WORLD DRIFT is not a misnomer.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

Madison, Wisconsin,
May, 1928.

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WORLD DRIFT

Chapter I

IS THE WORLD GROWING BETTER OR WORSE?

IF life is a good thing, then to have more of it is to be better off. Well, we are certainly getting more life. Early in the sixteenth century the expectation of life of a child born in so enlightened a place as Geneva, in Switzerland, was under twenty years. In England and in Massachusetts in 1855 it was forty years. Now in this country the average life extends to near sixty. In the decade 1910-20 four years were added to the expectation of life in the United States. The American Public Health Association at its 1923 meeting declared that it would be possible, using only measures already well understood, to attain sixty-five years by 1930. In the period 1911-24 the wage-earners insured in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company gained nine years in expectation of life. Now such extensions cannot be attained by bettering the experience of a small select element. The conditions of life and of work for the many must be improving. If, as some radicals insist, the common workingman or farmer is more than ever being exploited and harassed

and discouraged, thanks to the capitalistic system, we should not register this prolongation, which is not confined to the United States but extends to all peoples within the circle of modern civilization.

The Brightening Outlook for Babies

Were the babies consulted, they would shout with one voice that the world is growing kinder. Before the war a quarter of the babies in Hungary and Russia never lived a year. When I was in Chile in 1913 I found that a third of them failed to live a year, and some cities lost 47 per cent. In 1905 in Moscow half died within twelve months. In Manila 1903-11 55 per cent. of the babies died in the first year; the same in Bombay in 1922. In 1910 at Chungking, far up in the interior of China, an American medical missionary of twenty-six years' experience assured me that from 75 to 85 per cent. of the babies born there failed to live two years. Some years after the Japanese acquired Formosa they took a census of the three million Chinese there, and for infants they called for the age to be stated in months. The number of infants reported as "six months old but not yet seven" was but half of those returned as "under one month old." The inference is that half the babies died before they had lived six months!

Look now what has happened in the more enlightened and progressive sections of humanity. There are thirteen peoples who carry at least nine tenths of their babies through the first year. We are seventh from the top, but we lose but one in fourteen. There are twenty-five American cities which lose less than one twentieth of their babies the first year. New Zealand loses but one baby in twenty-three, and one of its cities loses but one baby in twenty-seven. This is not only the world's record but the record for all time; for it is safe to say that down through history from a quarter to two thirds of the infants have failed to live out a year. Give the doctors and the microbe quellers their due, but if parents were not more intelligent and responsible and homes not better, how could tender creatures like new-born babies be kept alive with such success?

Savorgnan, an Italian sociologist, has made a study of the offspring of the marriages which occurred in European royal houses 1890-1909. Of the 881 babies born of these marriages up to the end of 1923, only one in thirty-eight was lost in its first year. These babies receive, of course, the best care in the world. Now the spread of the benefits of medical science from the apex down through society is so rapid that within two or three decades, no doubt, the babies born in the families of the skilled workingmen of my town

will have as good a chance as these princelets had.

In 1913 President G. Stanley Hall found that in this country no less than 111 societies and associations had been formed for the promotion of child welfare in its various aspects. This is pretty decent, considering that babies have no votes, don't organize, or march in parades, or carry banners, or shout slogans, or speak from the soap-box, or hire halls, or buy advertising. In the Old Testament the old prophets raged against the lot of the "fatherless" child. Their favorite touchstone of character was one's treatment of the orphan. Now the orphan is so well looked after that you hardly dare pity him till you know something about the father he lost!

Consider the relief we Americans have extended to Armenian children, Russian children in the famine zone, post-war German children. Consider the Children's Bureau, the Maternity Law, the creation of ten thousand public supervised playgrounds in twenty-five years, the multiplication of community trained nurses, the growth of free medical inspection in the public schools. Has such general interest *not just in one's own children but in all the children of the community* ever been shown before in the history of our race? I doubt it.

We hear much of child labor; but don't imagine that it is a new phenomenon. There have always been

parents and employers ready to exploit the labor of the little ones. The only new feature is the wide protest against it. The development of light-running machinery at the same time as the vast multiplication of public schools has revealed in a glaring light the folly of allowing children in great numbers to be diverted from school to factory because their parents are ignorant or greedy. Hence the movement to make attendance compulsory and to bar children from industry until they are at least fourteen years of age.

More Generous Public Provision for Education

When I was a boy you might still hear crusty curmudgeons growl, "Why should I be taxed to educate another man's children?" But public sentiment has developed to such a degree that I haven't heard that protest of stinginess for forty years. In 1867 there were less than seventy free public high schools in the United States. Now there are 22,000. Roughly speaking, the number of public high school students doubled 1889-96, 1896-1908, 1908-18, and again since 1918. There are four millions in our secondary schools, and the attendance upon the public high schools has grown so fast that the proportion in private high schools has fallen from 18 per cent. to a mere 7 per cent.; yet the

2500 private high schools are flourishing. Within thirty years it will generally be taken for granted that every normal child will in some way or other be enabled to go through high school.

In 1874 the regents of the university of one of our Northwestern States asked the legislature for two buildings, adding that if these were provided the needs of the university would be met for all time. Now there are at least fifty buildings on the campus of that institution. In 1868, when Lincoln, Nebraska, was being laid out and land could be had for the asking, the regents of the university were satisfied to reserve four blocks of land near the center of the city. Forty years later, in order to obtain room for their buildings, they had to acquire at great expense five built-up blocks adjacent and tear down the structures upon them.

At Wisconsin we have 9000 students, at Illinois and Michigan and California the numbers run above 10,000. In my institution every building is built with reference to a possible 15,000. Did any one dream of such attendance fifty years ago? And, while hosts of young people attend, I fear, for the sake of the sports, the social life, the "extra-curricular activities," or because it has become "the thing" to go to college, so that many students throng in who have no craving for knowledge, no natural love of ideas, still, believe me, we do not allow any of them to waste *all* their time.

None of these would-be loafers can remain who does not carry fourteen hours a week; fifteen hours is the ordinary load. I suppose it is something to the good that so many of the young people have been *exposed* for four years to higher education.

Equalization and Freedom of Association of Men and Women

How wonderful it is that among us practically all the old obnoxious discriminations between the sexes have been wiped out, that girls enjoy as good school opportunities as boys, that women without being thought less of can enter any decent occupation or profession, that women have equal chance with men to participate in public affairs! One result of the opening of so many doors is the great independence of American girls in respect to marriage. The German philosopher Münsterberg, who settled at Harvard, observed that the English girl marries the man she thinks will make her happy, the German girl marries the man who will not make her unhappy, the American girl marries the man *without whom she would be unhappy.*

When before in history have the sexes mingled so freely and with so little looseness? A young South American attended one of our state universities and quite misunderstood the free and fearless manners of

our "co-eds." He thought they were of easy virtue and, proceeding on this supposition, got himself into a scrape which obliged him to leave town suddenly. All through South America no betrothed couple is left alone for five minutes until they are married; nor is this precaution needless. In India, in China, all through Asia and Mohammedan Africa as well as some parts of southeastern Europe, the only recognized means of preserving the virtue of girls is to hold them under the strictest supervision until marriage. Young people of opposite sex never associate, do not even see or speak to one another, and marriages are arranged by the parents. How different from our practice of courtship, which has been defined as "a man pursuing a woman until she catches him"! After marriage the woman speaks with no man outside her family. When the untraveled among these peoples are told that the sexes mingle freely here without breakdown of morals, a smile of polite incredulity hovers on their faces. They consider us without modesty and liars into the bargain.

Not only have we developed men and women most of whom may be trusted, but it looks as if this freedom is destined to spread over the world eventually. Immured women are becoming restless and demanding the freedom enjoyed by their sisters elsewhere. At the capital of the hard-shelled Turks, Kemal the president

marries the leader of the new women and she appears unveiled with him in public, and in the afternoon pours coffee for their guests. Visiting Thoburn College, Lucknow, India, I was struck by the extreme thinness of the veils worn by the Mohammedan girls. So diaphanous is the veil that it offers no hindrance to the most expressive eye-play through it. No doubt the demure creatures assure their parents that they are observing Mohammedan custom with the greatest fidelity!

When in 1910 I visited the Chinese city of Foochow, long a center of missionary influence, the educated young people had just been granted a joint demand that they had made upon their parents. Did they ask for liberty to court and to be courted, to choose their mates in freedom as we do? Oh, no! they never dreamed of going so far. They asked only the privilege of having *just one look* in advance at the person with whom they were expected to pass the rest of their lives! So on Sunday morning, when the boys of the mission college would march from their dormitory to church, little Miss Plumblossom and her mama would peek through the lattice of some second-story window on the line of march. "Look, my dear, it's the third boy from this end of the fifth rank." Did the daughter's glance wander? Verily, I trow not. She *looked*. Imagine your feelings at being first shown the

face that is to confront you at the breakfast table every morning for fifty years! Fortunately, it is an emotion no longer known among us. As for the boy, his father sat by him in the mission church and whispered, "Son, it's the girl in the far end of the fourth pew." It is a safe bet that right there the boy lost the thread of the sermon.

So, little by little, youth loosens the hard carapace of confining custom their elders have built over the human heart.

Matrimony

A century ago a stock dilemma of the novelists was a heroine torn between love and a worldly marriage urged by her parents. Now it is so settled that nothing but love sanctifies marriage, that novelists no longer can create much emotional tension by using this theme. The reader knows they wouldn't *dare* let Moneybags get the girl. Only thirty-seven years ago Westermarck, the great historian of marriage, declared that over most of Europe the custom then prevailed of providing the daughter with a marriage portion; and the girl without a marriage portion stood hardly any chance of obtaining a husband, no matter how great her charms and merits. In olden times a favorite philanthropy was to leave money to fit out local poor girls

with marriage portions, so that they might hope for a husband. A stock situation of the old romancers was to depict a poor girl so virtuous and charming that actually some nice young man whose parents had planned to marry him to a rich dowry was willing to turn his back on money and *take her for herself alone.* What a paragon of disinterestedness they made him out to be!

Yet to-day, without portions, American girls are in great demand; in fact, we are one of the most married peoples on the face of the earth, and the last three censuses have shown us to be getting more so. You have to penetrate deep into central Europe, clear to Hungary in fact, to find a people so much married as we are. With us marriage is so little mercenary that, even among mill girls, the girl who weds for money and not for love is sneered at as having "married for a meal ticket." We have the reputation of being "worshipers of the Almighty Dollar," yet among us marriage is less mercenary, mating less influenced by financial considerations, than among any people known to history. Rich but unsophisticated American parents whose lovely daughter is sought in marriage by some scion of European aristocracy get a nasty jolt when called upon by his lawyer to declare in advance how much money they will settle on the daughter. They wake up to the fact that the money is the thing, that

any other rich *partie* would do as well, for the average European aristocrat has not the least intention of being true to his wife.

Conjugal Fidelity

In the matter of faithfulness we have nothing to blush for when we compare ourselves with the Old World. The European husband makes just the same vows as the American husband, but the testimony of European visitors to our shores is unanimous to the effect that the American husband keeps these vows more loyally. One reason we have more divorces than other peoples is that an American couple no longer fond of each other seek a divorce, whereas a European couple, dispensing with a divorce, would seek solace in a clandestine love affair with some one else. The very low percentage of illegitimacy of whites in this country is some measure of our success in persuading sex relations to run in the appointed channel of matrimony.

Business Honesty

There are many signs that honesty is becoming more common among us. For the last half dozen years in my town there have been stands on the corners carrying newspapers. You help yourself to a newspaper and

drop the pennies in a slot. The losses must be slight or the method would be abandoned. Year by year I am in receipt of more offers to send me books or ulsters or dress shirts on the condition that I will return the article or remit. At first I flatter myself that my personal reputation for honesty is improving; but it appears that these offers are addressed to the general public. More and more often you see the words "Send no money." Stores are more ready to send goods on approval. Some stores adopt the maxim "The customer is always right," and replace anything without question if the customer says it was not in the bundle when he opened it. Lately came to my desk a book analyzing 171 codes which have been formulated and adopted by various organized branches of business in the last dozen years.

Political Honesty

I have lived for a year or more in nine States, among them the New York, Maryland, Indiana and California of the nineties of the last century, so that I am familiar with corruption in public life. For the last twenty-one years I have lived in the capital of the State of Wisconsin, yet never in all that time, with one exception, have I heard it insinuated, even in the most private conversation, that any one connected with the govern-

ment of Wisconsin had done or not done anything for money.

Being deeply impressed with the breaking strain to which young men of high ideals entering the public service were subjected, and having been sadly disappointed in the after-career of some of my crack students, I formerly considered very carefully the honesty and conscientiousness of a graduate student before recommending him for a position under the Public Utilities Commission, the Tax Commission or the Industrial Commission. But, as I came to appreciate the high tone of political life in Wisconsin, I gave up entirely the practice of estimating my young man's strength of character. I take all that for granted, for all of our product has stood up under the strain; so now in picking a young man to recommend I consider only his brains and equipment.

Cleaner Political Contests

Due partly to stricter laws and partly to public enlightenment, there has been in my time a marked improvement in the conduct of political contests. Secret ballot, advance registration of voters, limitation and publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures, direct primaries, and the punishment of vote-buying have contributed. Moreover, public sentiment has been

educated to the point of resenting bitter and unfair partizanship, groundless personal attacks, "canards," "roorbacks," mud-slinging, and other nasty campaign methods. Thanks to these, there is more confidence in the results of elections and more readiness to accept them as the voice of the people.

Molding the Production of Public Opinion

But there is the deplorable result that the predatory financial interests, who realize they *must* control government in order to prevent it from interfering with their crooked acquisitive schemes, finding themselves no longer able to retain their political grip by "colonizing" voters, buying votes with money or whisky, stuffing ballot-boxes, and setting up hand-picked nominating conventions, are centering their efforts farther back. They are trying to *sway the mind that casts the ballot,* to fool the farmer or the wage-earner into voting against his interests and for the men and measures favored by Predatory Business. Once they have built up a vast and costly enginery for chloroforming the voters, they turn with the savagery of a wild boar upon any one who, by showing up their crooked propaganda, spoils their game. Ruthlessly they proceed to oust, discredit, or intimidate the debunking high school teacher,

or college instructor, or superintendent of schools, or preacher, or editor, or lecturer, who blurts out things which interfere with their doping and duping of the people. In the school world the strain just now is upon the high school teachers. In the colleges we have our American Association of University Professors, with 6468 members in 266 institutions. It sends a strong committee to look into and report upon every case of alleged violation of academic freedom. The printed report is sent to every member and given to the press; so that several college presidents overready to ruin an outspoken professor in order to please some swag-bellied plutocrat on the governing board have lost their jobs. Now such a president shows more spunk in withstanding Mr. Plutocrat.

The Steady Decline of Newspaper Independence

This drive to control the sources of opinion has had a devastating effect upon the virtue of many newspapers. In fifty years the proportion of newspaper receipts from advertising has risen from 44 per cent. to about 75 per cent. for all American newspapers. The big newspapers get from 80 to 90 per cent. from advertisers. The price paid by the reader has adjusted itself to the growth of receipts from advertising, so that no

newspaper can live without selling great quantities of space. Under these conditions the dopers of the people with lying propaganda had only to persuade advertisers to use the threat to withdraw their advertising as a club to make the newspaper bow to their will. It is easy to line up important advertisers for this purpose, for they are either part of the element trying to dope the public, or else stand in fraternal relations to it. Unified action in respect to the placement of advertising has been facilitated by the growth of advertising agencies which buy great quantities of space and menace an independent newspaper with withdrawal of all the advertising they control. Examples of organized nation-wide veiled propaganda in newspapers are: the agitation against the excess-profits tax, the wage-reduction campaign, the open-shop campaign, the outcry against tax-exempt securities, the drive against the higher schedules of the income tax, the drive against the Federal estates tax, and the clamor against the direct primary.

The New Freedom in the Church

There is an encouraging tendency among clergymen to recover and proclaim the social message of the Gospels. Down to about 1908 it seemed possible that the church here might be captured and used by the possessing classes to flatter their conviction of being

favored of God and to control the more unthinking and prejudiced. Some years ago President Baer of the Reading Railroad, in a private letter to the president of one of the other coal roads, spoke of his class of magnates as "the men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has confided the industries of this country." Now, however, I am convinced that the religion of Jesus is again to prove itself altogether too dynamic to be emasculated in such fashion. There are, of course, time-servers in the ministry; also, there are elderly clergymen, rooted in the old idea of Christianity as a guide-board to Heaven, who will never sense the social message in the Gospels. Provided they want them, rich malefactors will never lack house-chaplains to make them feel self-complacent. But it is evident that the bulk of the clergy are resolved to declare the whole Gospel as they see it. If they see it differently from their rich pew-holders, they are going to assert their manhood and declare what they see. The more there are of them the harder it is to punish or intimidate a particular offender. Increasingly their bishops back them and their brethren in the pulpits stand by them. To-day plenty of clergymen are fearless enough to speak out and apply Jesus' doctrines to the situations of to-day, no matter who may be wroth. It is becoming plain that the Christian church, though late, is

not going to be least among the agencies contending for such adjustments in society as shall commend themselves to the reason and conscience of the best men.

The Foreign Missionary Movement

The foreign missionary movement, comprising 17,000 picked American men and women and costing nearly forty millions a year, is an encouraging phenomenon. I have visited many missions in China, Japan, India, East and West Africa and find that one can praise what they are doing irrespective of one's theology. You perceive the enormous benefit from substituting a higher type of religion for the lower types when you see missionary teaching and influence breaking down evils which, if unmolested from outside, might endure for centuries. I mean idolatry, gross and degrading conceptions of God, obscene rites of worship, self-torture of ascetics, self-immolation of widows, polygamy, concubinage, slavery, witch-smelling, child marriage, immurement of women, male domination and male monopoly of education. The missionaries destroy only the baser religions they find, not the nobler—as, for example, Buddhism. Thanks to their competition, the finer aspirations and tendencies of the higher religions are helped to triumph over the lower.

The Fight Upon Alcoholic Beverages

For thousands of years getting drunk was the privilege of the vine-growing peoples. It has been hardly two centuries since distilled liquor came to be so accessible to the peoples of northern Europe that for the common folk drinking meant more than a rare spree on a feast day. When the time came that the laboring man could have spirits at his elbow all the time, the ravages of drink became so appalling that about a century and three quarters ago an anti-alcohol movement sprang up, at first in the form of abstinence rather than prohibition. Among us the movement became stalled about fifty years ago, owing partly to the flooding in of immigrants quite naïve in their acceptance of liquor as a friend of man, and partly to the commercialization of the liquor traffic, so that the saloon became an instrumentality not only for satisfying thirsts already established, but for planting thirsts in the young. When our people realized what the saloon was doing to their boys, learned that between 1880 and 1905, while the per capita consumption of spirituous liquors remained constant, that of malt liquors rose from eight gallons per capita annually to twenty gallons, they foresaw that alcohol would gain so long as that focus of infection, the saloon, was

tolerated. So they arose and smote the saloon. Incidentally and regrettably they had to smite at the traffic in beverage liquor whatever its form.

It was a big mistake to nationalize prohibition instead of winning State after State to the policy. For years before the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted I was wont to point out to my classes that the attempt to dry up the Union as a whole while there were still many commonwealths in which the public had not been educated to see liquor for what it really is could only result in a new sectionalism and a needless strain in the national bond. My prophecy has been abundantly fulfilled. Reformers whose zeal outran their judgment have gotten us into a mess from which no one sees a convenient exit.

Nevertheless, the consumption of drink in this country has vastly diminished. The most conservative estimate is 86 per cent. less. While scores of thousands drink as much as ever, millions cannot take the trouble or spend the money to obtain the costly wares of the bootlegger. In time, after they no longer care to flirt with death by drinking poisonous home-brew, the erstwhile drinkers among the common people may join the rest of us in demanding an enforcement policy which will cut off the flow of smuggled liquor supplying the privileged well-to-do drinkers.

Oxlike Men Bound to Disappear

Short of some great catastrophe, nothing can stop the outward radiation of the new emancipating culture. It looks as if all humanity, even the most backward and depressed sections, are destined to enter, according to the measure of their capacity, into the chief gains of the more enlightened peoples. I am not thinking of a consummation centuries away but of what may happen within the experience of some now living. At the rate the new knowledge, the new implements, and the new ideas as to what life may hold are spreading, in a few decades there will remain nowhere in the world the benighted, stolid, peasant type. There will be no ox-men, like the peons of Mexico fifteen years ago or like the Russian peasants ten years ago. Every person of normal mentality will be able to read and write, will follow newspapers, will be citizen rather than subject, will respond to and contribute to public opinion, will possess and assert legal rights, and will imagine something good in the future for himself or for his children.

The Extension of Freedom

Provided that means be found to prevent the recurrence of ruinous and prostrating wars among the

advanced peoples, and provided that the growth of population pressure be avoided by cutting down the birth-rate in about the degree that modern medicine succeeds in cutting down the death-rate, the future is bright. I know of nothing else that can stop the spread of the new freedoms. The freedom and opportunity and hope which have come to perhaps a sixth of the women of the world are certain to be enjoyed presently by *all* women. The gains of the children in the more advanced countries will become the birthright of all children save those born into tribal life. Industrial wage-earners everywhere will in time gain intelligence and boldness enough to take their own part, as the forty-four millions of organized wage-earners are already doing. In view of the powerful ferments in the minds of men, extending every day the scope of their operations, it does not seem rash to predict that, within the lifetime of children born among us this year, slavery, forced labor, patriarchalism, polygamy, male domination over women, the foot bandage and the veil, ecclesiasticism, and every form of irresponsible power will disappear from all important sections of humanity, as they have already disappeared from the more enlightened peoples. Only in out-of-the-way spots, such as jungles, sand deserts, mountain tangles, and remote islets, will any of these forms of human subjection and exploitation survive.

Chapter II

WHO OUTBREEDS WHOM?[1]

THROUGHOUT the past from time to time conditions have caused some human types to outbreed other types, with the result that after a while the bulk of the population came to consist of descendants of fast-breeding types. However, the process attracted no attention and people remained profoundly unaware that the very fiber of the race was being altered. Today, however, scientific men notice and study a thousand things of which our ancestors were unconscious, and one of them is the unequal contribution of the various population elements to the make-up of the next generation. Thanks to the growing abundance of reliable vital statistics, we have become aware of two tendencies of the last fifty years which coöperate to increase the representation in the people of the offspring of the less desirable human stocks and cut down the representation of the capable and the gifted.

[1] Read before the Race Betterment Conference at Battlecreek, Michigan, January 3, 1928.

The Planing Down of Inequalities in Mortality

One of the outstanding developments of our time is the fighting of disease and the promotion of health by means of *public agencies* the services of which are free to all. Thus the municipal health department abolishes nuisances, inspects dwellings and schools, looks after the food and drink offered to the public, and stamps out communicable diseases. The county health department safeguards milk and meat supplies, exterminates malarial mosquitos, conducts the medical examination of school children, inoculates against typhoid and vaccinates against smallpox. The state health department wrestles with such state-wide problems as the curbing of epidemics, the protection of public water supplies, sewage disposal, factory inspection, and the purity of food and drugs. Among the new developments are the following:

The public clinic. In place of the old-fashioned charity dispensary, with its hasty glance and a bottle of medicine for the "deserving poor," there has grown up the public clinic, emphasizing health education and disease prevention, and coöperating with hospitals and private physicians for thoroughgoing treatment. Developed out of infant welfare and tuberculosis cam-

paigns, it has been extended to meet such problems as venereal disease, heart disease, etc. In the city of New York alone in 1926 there were listed not less than 230 such clinics.

The health center. Within the last fifteen years the health center idea has spread widely in the United States. Whereas in 1917 about a dozen were in existence in the larger cities, now about a thousand such centers are functioning. There is good ground for expecting that the maintenance of permanent tax-supported health centers will presently become a matter of course among us as it is in England, which has already upward of two thousand such centers.

The infant welfare station. In Great Britain it is proposed to have continuous health supervision of the child, beginning with the prenatal clinic. A continuous record is to be kept from the moment of birth through the period of pre-school life, of grade schools, secondary schools, and, in fact, throughout all the years of childhood and of adolescence. In the United States the Federal Children's Bureau is pushing the same plan. Rhode Island seems to be the first State which has definitely committed itself to such work, beginning with the registration of the birth and continuing throughout the school life of the child. It is planned to turn over a complete health record of the child to the

school authorities when the child is entered at school.

Public health nursing. The visiting or public health nurse, whether in the employ of the community or of a philanthropic organization, goes out into the homes of the people to work for the improvement of their health and general welfare. In the twenty years 1900-20 the organizations engaged in public health nursing have increased in number from fifty-eight to about four thousand and the number of nurses employed by them from 130 to above 11,000.

Health education. In seven years of intensive effort to search out, care for, and prevent cases of tuberculosis in a Massachusetts city of seventeen thousand souls the deaths from tuberculosis were reduced 68 per cent., while in like neighboring towns, where no such extra effort was made, they fell only 32 per cent. In Cattaraugus county in New York State, selected for a "demonstration" by the Milbank Foundation, the general death-rate was reduced from 144 in 1923 to 126 in 1925, while the infant mortality rate was cut from ninety-three per thousand births to sixty-five. Such achievements are practicable only with a public which has been extraordinarily stimulated and enlightened by intensive health propaganda. Daily news items, editorials, motion-pictures, lectures, educational courses in the schools, exhibits, parades, magazines, bulletins,

circulars, posters, advertisements, photographs, cartoons, and a host of other things are used for this purpose.

In the city of Syracuse, New York, another "demonstration" subject, the Bureau of Health Education places information and news on health subjects before every resident. For physicians and health workers, weekly bulletins set forth the mortality and morbidity records of the city with pertinent current information. For molders of opinion, such as clergymen, educators, club workers, and leaders in commercial and social lines, there is published an illustrated magazine dealing with the work of the agencies in the demonstration and of other organizations in the city engaged in health activities. Editorials in the daily papers discussing the more important phases of health work appear at frequent intervals, and are of special interest to this particular group. The results of special surveys on child health, industrial health, and venereal diseases, made by outside experts, have been published in pamphlet form and circulated among the technical people.

No serum does more for public health than printer's ink. To reach the general public, wide use is made of the newspapers. Articles are published to furnish health news, to give information and practical advice on health subjects, and to supply entertaining reading material. A series of weekly stories is built about an

imaginary character, Mrs. Wise, who brings to the attention of her good neighbor, Mrs. Smith, certain truths which the department of health wishes to broadcast. There is also a series of illustrated health stories for children.

Advertisements are inserted from time to time in the local newspapers calling attention to some special feature of health work. These papers also issue special health numbers.

There is a speakers' bureau, and its handbook listing available speakers on health topics is sent to all clubs, churches, factories, and schools in the city. For large mass-meetings, national and state authorities on health topics are brought to the city. With the aid of a motion-picture machine the bureau has been able to reach many foreign- and native-born American audiences to whom the unillustrated lecture does not appeal.

The children's health parade, now an annual spring event, illustrates all the health work being done for children in the city and serves to drive home to a vast street audience the value of health work in the schools. Health talks told at bedtime are broadcast over the radio. Health literature of a popular nature is supplied to the various factory reading-rooms. In factories and large business houses extensive use has been made of news bulletins and pictorial posters. The pub-

lic library sets out in a conspicuous place in its reading-room its special collection of books on health.

As a feature of the diphtheria immunization campaign, a contest is conducted in the public schools. A silver trophy cup is awarded to the school having the lowest percentage of diphtheria cases and the highest percentage of pupils to take the toxin-antitoxin preventive treatment.

All this arsenal of ingenious devices is available to any community which sets out to enlist the public in the promotion of its own health.

The spoils of health crusades. There can be no question that organized systematic efforts to give the people the benefit of modern hygienic and medical knowledge have borne fruit. Along some lines in a single decade we now make greater advances in life preservation than formerly occurred in a thousand years.

In the words of an eminent public health official: "The yellow fever nightmare will terrify no more. There has been practically no cholera since 1873. Smallpox, which in former epidemics sometimes attacked half the population, is a negligible cause of death. Typhus fever is a very rare disease. Plague has not been able to gain a foothold. . . . Typhoid fever is a vanishing disease. The diarrhœal diseases caused four times as many deaths fifty years ago as now. Scarlet fever mortality has fallen ninety per cent. Diph-

theria has decreased nearly as much and the mortality from pulmonary tuberculosis has been cut in two."

Life terms, ancient and modern. If we divide the total of the years lived by those who die by the number of deaths, we arrive at the "expectation of life at birth." Now the labors of Latin scholars have shown that the expectation of life in ancient Rome was very low as compared with to-day. Whereas in England at the age of fifteen the expectation of life for boys is forty-five years and for girls forty-eight years, in Rome it was twenty and fifteen years respectively; whereas in England at the age of thirty the expectation of life for men is thirty-three and for women thirty-six years, in Rome it was nineteen and fourteen years respectively. Thorold Rogers tells us that in the Middle Ages the risks of death from disease were far greater than they are at present, medical skill was almost non-existent, the conditions of life were eminently unwholesome, and the diet of the people for fully one half of the year, though abundant, was insalubrious. "In the large towns the deaths, to judge from the returns up to the eighteenth century, greatly exceeded the births." In Geneva in the sixteenth century the expectation of life was fifteen and one half years; in the seventeenth century, twenty-three and one half years; in the eighteenth century, thirty-two and one third years.

Writes Professor Irving Fisher:[2] ". . . During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe human life was lengthening at the rate of about four years per century. During the first three-fourths of the nineteenth century, the rate was nine years per century. During the last quarter it was 14 years per century in Massachusetts, 17 years per century in Europe in general and 27 years per century in Prussia in particular. More recent data show that, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, for the United States, England and Germany, life lengthened at the amazing pace of 40 years per century."

The lengthening span of life. Yellow fever and cholera have no longer a place in our mortality tables. In enlightened communities smallpox has become almost a curiosity. The death-rate from diphtheria is hardly a quarter of what it was twenty-five years ago. Any city can be rid of typhoid fever. In 1890 the average death-rate in the cities of the registration area of the United States was 22.1; the rural rate was 15.3. Now for this area the city rate is below the rural rate. In 1851 the death-rate of New York city was 50; in 1925 it was 12.2, less than a fourth. For Massachusetts the expectation of life has risen as follows: 1855, 39.77 years; 1890, 43.48 years; 1895, 45.35 years; 1901,

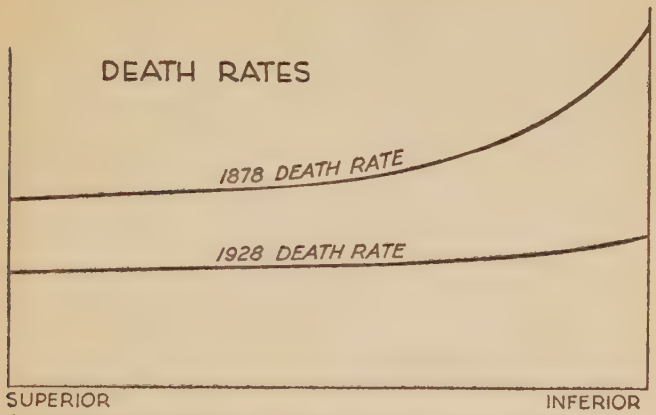
[2] "American Journal of Public Health," January, 1927, Vol. XVII, p. 4.

47.75 years; 1910, 51.19 years; and 1920, 55.25 years. On both sides of the Atlantic children born now may expect to live two decades longer than their grandfathers. In 1901 a baby born in our registration area might hope to last near fifty years. The expectation of life is now fifty-nine or sixty years. No doubt five years could be added were the American people willing to lay out annually $2.50 per capita on well-directed public health efforts instead of a paltry fifty cents. In Australia in a period of thirty-five and one half years the expectation of life for men increased twelve years and that for women twelve and one half years. In New Zealand the life span has reached sixty-two years, slightly better than in Australia. The Scandinavian peoples are a little ahead of us, while the English press us closely with a life expectation of about fifty-five years. Before the war, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan had life spans of forty-five to forty-eight years. India with an expectation of life of twenty-three years is a bench-mark from which ascent can be measured. Before the close of this century, in some peoples the normal life may span the biblical "threescore and ten." At its meeting in 1922 the American Public Health Association adopted a resolution which included the statement, "We, the health workers of our communities, are confident that there is nothing inherently impracticable or extravagant in the proposal we make that many na-

tions may attain such knowledge of the laws of health, appropriate to each age and occupation, to each climate and race, that within the next fifty years as much as twenty years may be added to the expectancy of life (55 years) which now prevails throughout the United States. . . ."

One unanticipated result of socializing the blessings of medical and surgical advance has been the brightening of the survival prospects of the ignorant, the stupid, the careless, and the very poor in comparison with those of the intelligent, the bright, the responsible, and the thrifty. Of course, all elements have benefited by the policy of making health promotion a public utility, but the socially less valuable elements have benefited the most. Fifty years ago the difference in prospect of growing up between the children of the wise and those of the foolish, between the offspring of the able and those of the incompetent, between the progeny of the prosperous and those of casual laborers, must have been much greater than it is to-day. Suppose we range the chief elements in the community in the order of their value to society. At the extreme left set the talented, at the extreme right place the pauper, defective, and criminal stocks. Two generations ago the line defining the death-rates of these elements would have tilted very steeply from right to left. Nowadays the mortality line has been brought down greatly, but most

of all toward the right hand end of the scale, the result being that it approaches the horizontal.



The population elements are ranged from left to right in order of diminishing social value.

FIG. 1 PROBABLE DECLINE OF THE MORTALITY DIFFERENTIAL IN FIFTY YEARS

So far as we can foresee, this making available to everybody the fruits of scientific medicine will continue. Thanks to charity and public policy, those too ignorant or careless to be competent custodians of their own health will nevertheless be protected at a hundred points from the chief enemies of human life.

So it is fair to conclude that henceforth death is to be by no means the discriminating agency it used to be before the public authorities and philanthropists set out to socialize health. The elimination process has

been damped down. Differential mortality can no longer be counted on to hold us up to the old standard of fitness. Great numbers are enabled to grow up and rear progeny who would have failed to get by the sterner tests of two generations ago—I mean persons of poor constitution, of feeble vitality, of low natural resistance to disease, the inheritors of sense defect or mental defect or weakness of character. I do not deplore this fading away of the differential in mortality. By all means let the gains of medical science accrue to all. But it is obvious that means must be found to substitute some other type of selection for the old relentless natural selection that prevailed until recently.

The Growth of Differential Fertility

An English statistical expert, Sir William Beveridge, has shown that in the thirty years 1881–1911 the fertility of seventeen European countries which had in 1900 a population of 233 millions—nearly a sixth of mankind—declined more than a fifth. In the same period the baby crop of New Zealand and the Australian colonies fell off 30 per cent. In 1876 the birth-rate of England and Wales was as high as it has been since births began to be registered. In the course of the half century since it has been cut to just one half. On the whole, it is safe to say that annually two and one half

million fewer births occur in Europe than would occur if the birth-rates of fifty years ago had been maintained.

In the United States we lack vital statistics reaching far back, but we know that the proportion of children under five years to women of child-bearing age was in 1920 less than three quarters of what it was in 1880 and only half of what it was in 1820.

This decline is due not at all to lowered capacity to reproduce but rather to the spread of birth control, which is now practised by perhaps 15 per cent. of the human race. I shall not enter into the pros and cons of birth control here, but wish simply to point out that it gives rise to what has come to be known as "the differential birth-rate," which is as dysgenic in its effects as the old differential death-rate was eugenic.

Until the means of regulating the size of the family had been discovered, there is no reason to suppose that blockheads and intellectuals differed much in fertility. The professional and business classes differed appreciably from the handworkers in tendency to marry, but the wife of the Victorian lawyer or captain of industry was likely to bear about as many babies as the wife of the shoveler or the factory hand. A recent study of the size of Chinese families made by Professor J. B. Griffing of the University of Nanking[3] shows no ten-

[3] "Journal of Heredity," September, 1926.

dency whatever on the part of the college educated or highly cultured Chinese to have fewer children than the illiterate peasants in the rural villages.

What has happened in England has been set forth by the famous Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Dr. W. R. Inge:[4]

> Until the decline began, large families were the rule in all classes. . . . Since 1877 large families have become increasingly rare in the upper and middle classes, and among the skilled artisans. They are frequent in the thriftless ranks of unskilled labor, and in one section of well paid workmen—the miners. The highest death rates at present are in the mining districts and in the slums. The lowest are in some of the learned professions.

About 1910 a survey of England north of the Humber showed that "it is the less healthy parents, the men and women with the worse habits, and the fathers with the lowest wages who have the largest families." Nor is this differential overcome by a selective death-rate. The large industrial center Bradford furnishes data which show that "at all ages the parents with bad habits have more children alive than the parents with good habits." "Well-ventilated and clean homes have fewer children in them." The report sees the prolific unfit as a "swamp which is threatening to rise and engulf the nation."

[4] "Outspoken Essays," 1919, p. 70.

In England and Wales in 1911 there were 119 births per thousand married males under fifty-five years of age in the upper and middle class, 153 among skilled workmen, and 213 among unskilled workmen. After allowing for unequal infant mortality rates, the babies surviving the first year in the three classes would be as 110, 136, 181. It is interesting to observe that while solicitors, physicians, and Church of England clergymen had about one hundred births a year, costers and hawkers had 175, earthenware workers 181, and dock laborers 231.

Taking as index of fertility births in relation to wives of child-bearing age, then, if the fertility of the general population be one hundred, the coal miners score 126.4, the agricultural laborers 113.4, while the professional people score 65 to 80.

An investigation in London showed that in one hundred families from which normal school children came, there had been 506 births, 387 children being then alive. In one hundred families from which feeble-minded children enrolled in the special schools for such children came, there had been 761 births, and 465 children were still alive. Thus it appears that subnormal couples lack the intelligence or motives for controlling the size of the family which normal couples manifest.

We have no such knowledge of class fertilities within the American people as has been secured for

the smaller and more compact population of Britain. On this matter the most illuminating ray of light comes from the Federal annual report on "Births, Stillbirths, and Infant Mortality Statistics." From the 1923 report it appears that in families in which the birth of a child was registered in 1923 the number of living children averaged 5.45 for fathers fifty to fifty-four years of age who were bootblacks, boiler-washers, engine hostlers, longshoremen, stevedores, draymen, teamsters, coal-mine operatives, and common laborers. But the number of living children averaged only 3.54 for fathers of the same age group who were engineers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, judges, inventors, dentists, clergymen, chemists, authors, newspaper men, architects, bankers, and railway officials. This means about two more children left by handworkers than by brainworkers, by unskilled laborers than by men of the learned professions, by the privates in the industrial organization than by the officers.

From the same tables Pearl calculates [5] the relative fertility of the American occupational groups in which the father was above forty-five years of age to be as follows:

1. Professional service	1.00
2. Clerical occupations	1.02
3. Trade	1.23

[5] "American Journal of Hygiene," July, 1926.

4.	Domestic and personal service	1.27
5.	Public service	1.31
6.	Transportation	1.44
7.	Manufacturing and mechanical industries	1.58
8.	Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	1.65
9.	Extraction of minerals	1.90

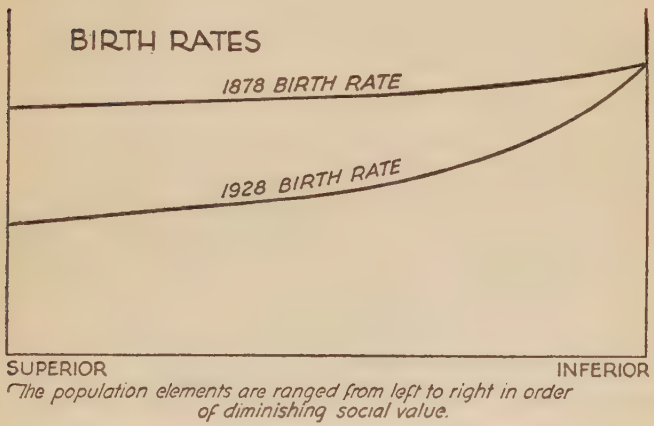


FIG. 2 PROBABLE GROWTH OF THE FERTILITY DIFFERENTIAL IN FIFTY YEARS

He concludes: "In our population it appears that the Professional, Clerical, Trade, Domestic and personal service, Public service, and Transportation occupational classes are reproducing themselves in such manner as to maintain about in its present status their relative representation in the population. But the heavy

laboring classes, Manufacturing, Agriculture, and Mining, are reproducing themselves greatly in excess of their representation in the population."

It will be generally conceded that college graduates come from a socially valuable element; my own opinion is that they are drawn from the brightest 20 per cent. of the population. Now we have abundant data which show that of the graduates of women's colleges only about half marry, and they produce less than three children per couple. Of the graduates of men's colleges about three quarters marry and become fathers of from two to two and one fourth children each.

Cattell has found that of the thousand most eminent American men of science nearly 90 per cent. marry, yet beget on the average only 1.88 children. "A scientific man," says Cattell, "has on the average about seven-tenths of an adult son. If three-fourths of his sons and grandsons marry and their families continue to be of the same size, a thousand scientific men will leave about 350 grandsons to marry and transmit their names and their hereditary traits. The extermination will be still more rapid in female lines." Yet we know that the sons of such men are at least fifty times as likely to achieve eminence as the sons of the first man you meet on the street.

It is aside from my present purpose to show how our germ plasm has been modified for all time by the great

tides of immigration into this country. I do wish, however, to bring out two tendencies. One is that the newcomers rarely practise birth control, so that for the decade 1910-20 the foreign-born in this country were 1.6 times as prolific as the native white. This results in displacement. The other is that the children of the immigrant born in this country on the whole have

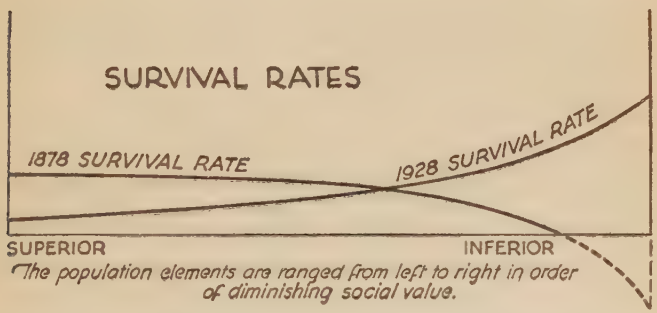


FIG. 3 PROBABLE SURVIVAL RATES (EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS) NOW AND FIFTY YEARS AGO

much smaller families than their parents have; but the drop in fertility is very unequal. The bright and ambitious become quite Americanized and have families of even less than American size; whereas the low grade inherit the dull peasantism of their parents and produce children at the Old World rate.

I conclude that in its earlier stages of dissemination the practice of family limitation is highly dysgenic. When many of the alert, the forelooking, and the wife-

considering stint their increase, whereas all the stupid, the superstitious, and the wife-killing males procreate heedlessly, birth control takes the brains out of the race at an alarming rate. But at a later stage, when knowledge of family limitation methods has become nearly common property among the married, the outlook is not so dark. For the giddy and the selfish will plume themselves on their shrewdness in rearing but one or two children; while the responsible, the conscientious, and the noble will go on to rear a real family.

In my judgment, our state and Federal laws classing contraceptive information as "obscene" and forbidding under heavy penalties not only its circulation through the mails but even its communication by word of mouth, have practically no effect in keeping such information from the bright aspiring and successful elements of the population, but they do hold it away from many of the poor, the ignorant, and the overburdened—just the element least capable of rearing properly a large family and presumably possessing least in the way of hereditary gifts to pass on to their children. Let the man-made obstacles to the circulation of contraceptive information be cleared away so that couples who find themselves bringing into the world weaklings and defectives shall be enabled to cease committing a crime against society.

Chapter III

SLOW SUICIDE AMONG OUR NATIVE STOCK[1]

THE population question looms before us as the fuel question must have loomed before our skin-clad ancestors at the beginning of the last glacial epoch. Science's foiling of disease has caused some peoples to register a greater natural increase, and their thinkers blanch before the stealthy approach of overpopulation. France, on the other hand, worries over baby-deficit. Her birth-rate, which began to decline noticeably about seventy years ago, in 1911 was exceeded by her death-rate. In 1922 births exceeded deaths by only seventy thousand. The impassioned appeals of patriots for more babies have little effect, for the vulgar remark that few of these patriots exhibit families of the size they recommend to others.

Population shortage is the very last thing we Americans have to fear. We can sit in security whether the

[1] From the "Century Magazine" for February, 1924. Based upon an investigation by Ray E. Baber and Edward A. Ross, published under the title "Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation." University of Wisconsin Studies in Social Science and History, No. 10. Madison, 1924.

middle of this century finds us with a hundred and thirty millions of inhabitants or a hundred and fifty. We fill two cradles for one coffin, and the cradle margin is growing. What we have to worry about is *quality*.

Realizing that immigration has brought us much chaff we are putting up the bars. But what of those already here? Aside from fugitives from racial or religious oppression, immigrants have come here to *get on*. This motive does not set in motion the educated, the propertied, the well-connected, for they have fair prospects in their home land. Hence, few scions of the gifted families have sought our shores. The migrant stream from Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, or South Europe in the last sixty years has not been a fair sample of its people in respect to natural talents. A dreadful lot of nonsense has been uttered about the foreign-born by politicians after their votes, but the hard fact remains that Europe has let us have few of her élite, but has been relieved of millions of her common and subcommon. Since three eighths of us have one or both parents foreign-born, it is fateful that of the two elements—foreign parentage and native—the former is contributing nearly twice as freely to the future make-up of the American people as the latter.

Bar aliens, and still we need to swivel a watchful eye on what is happening to the native fiber of our

people, for a nation may fall without noise. This is because, as Pearson shows, a quarter of one generation is parent to about half the next. In other words, the most fruitful fourth of a people will produce well nigh as many children as the remaining three fourths. What if this fateful fourth should include most of the pinheads and oafs! Would not the American intellect presently turn Bœotian? "Like produces like" does not hold for nations. That a breed has brains enough now gives no assurance that its descendants in (let us say) A.D. 2100 will be as well furnished.

In the last two decades there has been some inquiry into the biological fate of our superior strains. College graduates are presumably members of the brightest fifth of the population, and the studies made of the fecundity of graduating classes at different periods disclosed sinister tendencies. Between 1845 and 1891 the number of children per Mount Holyoke graduate declined from 2.37 to .95. The married women graduates of Syracuse University prior to the Civil War bore on an average two children each; while in the last decade of the nineteenth century they had but one. The number of offspring per married Yale or Harvard graduate fell from 3.25 in the 'fifties of the last century to 2.5 in the 'eighties. It is Dr. Crum, however, who has opened the longest perspective of American fecundity. From twenty-two genealogical records he arrived at

the maternal performance of 12,722 American wives. Those of the first half of the eighteenth century averaged 6.83 children; of the second half, 6.43; of the first half of the nineteenth century, 4.94; of the 'fifties and 'sixties, 3.47; of the 'seventies, 2.77.

Most inquiries have the fault of not following lines of descent. They compare the number of children begotten by a group of the middle of the last century with that of a group at the end of the century; but, since the latter are not descendants of the former, we do not know how much of the difference in family size may be due to unlikeness of stock or of family tradition rather than to change in conditions and in the spirit of the times. To eliminate this factor of error, with the aid of the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Baber and I have carried through in the last two years an investigation of the change in size of families between couples of the present generation and their parents. We have ascertained the number of children born to approximately 2500 living couples whose families are complete, and to 750 couples who were their fathers and mothers. Our study is confined to families of native parentage in both generations. The information was elicited from 420 primary families reached through a son or a daughter in college or university, the greater number being in the University of Wisconsin, though a number were in coöperating institutions. Through

husbands and wives in these primary families we obtained data respecting more than 2000 of their married brothers and sisters whose families are complete. Thirty-six per cent. of the primary families live in Wisconsin and 78 per cent. in the Middle West. The geographic distribution of their 2000 married brothers and sisters is so wide that our study represents the great core of the nation.

We cannot claim to have laid bare a cross-section of American society from bottom to top. All the primary families are rich enough in brains and purse to have a child in the university, and while the collateral couples would average somewhat below them, it is safe to say that few of the inert and hopelessly poor fall within the scope of our investigation. On the other hand, the socially most prominent rarely send a child to the University of Wisconsin, nor have they the patience to fill out an elaborate questionnaire. We may conclude, then, that what we have under the searchlight is the middle class of native stock in the central United States.

We have ascertained the parental performance of a "past generation" comprising about 750 men, whose average year of birth was 1832, and their wives, whose average year of birth was 1836. Of their living married children—we shall call them the "present generation"—as many were born before 1866 as since. Roughly speaking, what we have done is to compare

the size of native families coming into being between 1857 and 1877 with that of the families produced by their married children between 1892 and 1912. Our study throws no light on the size of the families being brought into existence for ten years past.

Before comparing them as parents let us compare the two generations in respect to other points.

Generally it makes a lifelong difference where childhood has been passed. The farm lad absorbs ideas and ideals from which he will scarcely break away even if later he becomes a city dweller. Age at marriage and size of family are influenced by the patterns imposed by childhood environment. Now of the two generations we compare, the earlier was more country-bred. Of the "past generation" 63 per cent. were farm-bred; of their children, 55½ per cent. The same proportion of the two generations—a quarter—spent their childhood in town. Of the men of the past generation 11 per cent., of their wives 13½ per cent., grew up in cities of more than 8000 inhabitants. For the "present generation" the percentage is 18 plus.

We perceive a movement from the hard-handed jobs toward the soft-handed jobs. Of the "past generation" 45 per cent. were farmers; of the "present generation" only 25 per cent. From fathers to sons the proportion of business men rose from 24 per cent. to 32 per cent., of professional men from 14 per cent. to 21 per cent.

Clerical workers were 4 per cent. of the fathers and 8 per cent. of the sons. About one ninth of each group were skilled laborers. Unskilled laborers rarely appear in either generation. Our study is confined to the American stock, while for two generations our pick-and-shovel wielders have been foreign-born or sons of foreign-born. Realizing that unskilled laborers rarely have a son or daughter in college, we visited labor-unions and searched for men who would fit into this investigation. But in almost every case the laborer was found to be foreign or of foreign parentage, or else too young to have completed his family. As a rule, by the time the native has his family filled, he has moved up out of the ranks of unskilled labor.

In education the "spread" of each generation is great, but the center of gravity of the "present generation" is decidedly higher than that of their parents. Of the generation which came to maturity around the middle of the last century, one in fifty had no schooling, but no such class appears among their children. Of the earlier, five eighths got no farther than the elementary school; of their sons and daughters, three eighths. Only 18 per cent. of the fathers had a year or more in high school; for the sons the proportion is a third. From mothers to daughters this proportion grew from 29 per cent. to 39 per cent. Of the fathers, 12 per cent. had one or more years in college; of the

sons, 20 per cent. So well did the daughters improve their broadening opportunities that their college contingent is 21½ per cent. as against 6 per cent. for the mothers. The men who obtained graduate or professional study increased from 4 per cent. to 10 per cent. In both generations the husbands appear to have had about a tenth more schooling than their wives. In view of the spectacular broadening of female education in the latter half of the nineteenth century, one would have expected this male advantage to lessen. It appears that while girls were making great strides in education, the boys were doing likewise without exciting much remark.

Our "past generation" were marrying around 1860 and our "present generation" around 1890. In this interval there was a decided growth of reluctance to assume early the responsibilities of the family. On the average the sons married nearly two years later than their fathers, the daughters nearly three years later than their mothers. Half of the fathers married before reaching the age of twenty-five, but only a third of their sons. Nearly half the mothers were wives at twenty-one, but only a fourth of their daughters. Still, we must not infer that the mid-century Americans and the end-century Americans differed so much as this in marrying age. Thirteen per cent. of our "present generation" are childless, but none of our "past genera-

tion," for we learn of them only through their children. Now it is the late-marriers of the "past generation" who would be the more apt to be childless, and hence never come to our attention. Then, too, we are more likely to get into the big families of the mid-century than the small ones; and the late-marriers would be likely to have the smaller families.

Now for the milk in the cocoanut.

We find that the average family of the elder generation had 5.44 children. This is a little high for that time, for, of course, the smaller families had less chance of getting into our study. That of their sons and daughters who had children at all was 3.35, a shrinkage of 38½ per cent. in about thirty to thirty-five years. Since 13 per cent. of the "present generation" are childless, the average number of progeny per marriage is 2.8.

There are significant differences in the fecundity of occupational groups. In the "past generation" the unskilled laborer led with 6.7 children. The farmer had 5.9. Then came in descending order professional men, skilled laborers, business men, and clerical workers. In the "present generation" the farmer leads with 4.2 per fertile family; unskilled labor, 3.7; skilled labor, 3.3; professional men, 3.2; business men, 2.9; clerical, 2.6. But the professional men make a poorer showing if we omit the clergymen, who average four children to

a family. Without them the average product of the professional men is three children.

From a tenth to a fifth of the couples of the "present generation" were infertile, while nearly 18 per cent. had but one child. For farmers and professional men the childlessness was 10 per cent.; for skilled labor and business men, 15 per cent.; for clerical workers, 20 per cent. Since that of the clergymen was 8.8, it is likely that childlessness in excess of this is voluntary.

Is our "present generation" replacing itself? The farmers, yes; but none of the other groups. Here are one hundred mothers who have survived the childbearing period. They have produced 335 children, one half of them girls. Allowing for those who die, who fail to marry, and who are infertile, will there be found among these girls one hundred mothers who will survive until their forty-fifth year? No. At least a third more babies should be born if this native middle class is to replace itself. It is now committing slow suicide. In a century it will have shrunken to a mere half of its present numbers, while contained in a nation twice as populous as now. Is it likely to count for much then?

All this assuming that family shrinkage has ceased. But if the coming generations should follow the example of the "present generation" in having only three

fifths as many offspring as its parents, we should have the 5.44 family of the 1860's, which shrank to 3.35 in the 1890's, go on to shrivel to 2.06 in the present decade, to 1.27 in the 1950's, and to .78 of a child in the 1990's. By then the family would in four generations have shriveled to a fortieth of its erstwhile importance. There is little likelihood, of course, that shrinkage will continue so fast; but, whether they shrink more slowly or hover at their present size, these native families are a thinning strand in the American people.

Our evidence of the catastrophic shrinkage between the last two generations is corroborated from other studies. Professor Cattell from his study of 643 American men of science found that the families from which the scientific men had come had an average of 4.7 children, while the scientific men who married and whose families are complete have an average of only 2.3 children, a shrinkage of 50 per cent. Professor Amy Hewes obtained information on the families of 620 Mount Holyoke students, and found that the number of children per completed fertile family was 3.15, in the parents' generation 5.09. The shrinkage between the generations was the same as we found—viz., 38 per cent. Her study was pushed back a generation farther, disclosing in the "grandmothers' generation" a family of 6.19. That she finds smaller families than

we do is due, no doubt, to her dealing with New England stock, while our study is largely with the Middle West.

To check our results we had an investigation made by Miss Jeanette Halvorsen of the University of Wisconsin to determine the size of dependent families of American stock. Figures were obtained for one hundred dependent families—thirty in Madison, Wisconsin; thirty-one in Kalamazoo, Michigan; twenty-six in Bloomington, Illinois; eight in Des Moines, Iowa; and five in Omaha, Nebraska. They were not picked, but taken just as they came in the records of the charity agencies. All had received relief again and again, and generally they were below par. Now these hundred families averaged 6.5 children each as against 2.8 for our self-supporting families. In other words, these families, nearly all mentally defective, alcoholic, immoral, or criminal, are bringing children into the world *two and one third times as fast* as the middle class.

Such is the trend. And the interpretation thereof?

As regards the 13 per cent. of childless couples, one knows not what to say. Dr. Crum found among nearly 3000 American eighteenth-century wives less than 2 per cent. of infertility; in 5500 wives, 1800-49, 4 per cent.; in 1000 wives, 1870-79, 8 per cent. In our wives of twenty years later we find 13 per cent. On the

basis of thousands of cases it was found a decade ago that there is 13 per cent. of childlessness among the native stock, whereas among the wives of Polish parentage on the farms of twenty-one Minnesota counties the infertility is well under 2 per cent. It is likely that much of the childlessness of native wives is due to little-understood physiological causes.

As regards the prevalence of the small family, the explanation appears to be this: In the latter part of the last century the "well-posted" element of our native stock learned how not to have more babies than they chose to have. Utilizing this new-found knowledge in an individualistic spirit, many of them restricted progeny to such a degree that their lines may die out.

To return to blind fecundity is no remedy. In view of our current success in lowering the death-rate, such a course would be madness. To-day among the mountaineers of the southern Appalachians the number of children born into the family ranges from seven to fifteen. A child a year is a common schedule. The result is not only decrepitude or death before middle life for all but the strongest women, but a multiplication so rapid that rural slums are forming.

In a time when four or five births per fertile couple will easily maintain population, a general return to families of from seven to fifteen would soon make us worse off even than the masses in China. For they can

have children as prodigally as they do because from 60 to 70 per cent. of them die within a year, whereas we lose less than 12 per cent. Hence, no power on earth can stamp out knowledge of the means of family limitation or prevent most of those who possess it from acting upon it. At no one's bidding will emancipated mankind reënter the hell of degradation of women and children, toil, poverty, hunger, and war which blind fecundity tends to create.

The right remedy for family suicide is *to correct our philosophy of success*. We have been glorifying the achievement of the *individual* rather than that of the *family*. We ask, "What has he done?" But not, "What are his children and grandchildren doing or likely to do?" With their limousine, Oriental rugs, and European tour, the childless or one-child couple is accounted more to be envied than the equally capable couple who miss these things because they are rearing four or five high-bred, well-educated children. When the public rates success more in terms of offspring, more couples will consent to rear a real family.

There is need, too, of enlightening people as to what family survival implies. Some couples imagine that by rearing one child they have handed on the torch of life. Many suppose that two children insure the perpetuation of their stock. Among this middle-class native stock the fact is that, with our present

rates of mortality, celibacy, and infertility, only those averaging 3.1 children are above the survival line. In general, it is only the family with four or more births which can count on producing a father and a mother from among the children. Now, not many capables contemplate with indifference the extinction of their line. Most of these "present-generation" couples we studied could have added a child or two without seriously curtailing family comfort or the educational chances of their children. Had they been well instructed as to the deplorable family and racial consequences of over-limitation, would not the majority of them have expanded their families well above the danger line?

Chapter IV

POCKETED AMERICANS[1]

KNAPSACK on back, Dowd and I, two sociology professors, in August, 1923, roamed southern Appalachia to espy pure America in its native haunts. In the mountains between Pennsylvania and Georgia are pocketed three million old-line Americans who illustrate the social effects of isolation as vividly as Albania or the Caucasus. For this is the manner of settlement. The mountains come down to a point like the letter V. Adown this crease brawls a petty river; leading into this from a smaller valley will be a creek; into the creek a "branch," and into the "branch" a "fork." Each settlement is a "shoestring" along one of these watercourses and constitutes a world within itself, for it is insulated from its neighbors by one or two thousand feet of steep wooded ridge. The only wagon trails lie in the bed of a stream, which you may have to ford twenty times in a mile. Made road there is none; all that has been done since Daniel Boone came is the

[1] From the "New Republic," January 9 and 23, 1924. This is not offered as a portrait of our southern highlanders. It is a study of the effects of isolation; therefore it limns extreme types rather than representative types.

clearing away of logs and boulders. So these farmers live cut off from thought, literature, science, and art. The great world, the rest of mankind, are no more real to them than they are to a man dropped into a mediæval *oubliette.*

Thus is it amid the confused tangle of the Cumberlands of West Virginia, eastern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee. In the Blue Ridge, however, of Virginia, western North Carolina, and northeastern Georgia the mountains are in masses and ranges, with considerable valleys between, and the isolation is not quite so hopeless.

Negroes form no part of the highland folk. The mountaineers never utilized the slave, for they knew not the plantation. Nobody disdains work, and half a mile above sea level one does not mind working in the sun. The few in the community who might be glad to hire the cheap negro are overborne by the many who will not have him as a neighbor. In some counties no negro is allowed to settle, and signs warn the passing black man not to "let the sun go down" upon him in that vicinity.

No European immigrants in a hundred years have settled in Appalachia, so all the blood here has come out of the British Isles. Here is the haunt of the Anglo-Celt as modified by life in the New World. Tall, sinewy, blue or gray eyes, lean face, straight nose, firm

jaw, steady gaze, deliberate of speech and reserved in manner, the typical highlander gladdens the eye of the anthropologist. He is a type very much worth conserving.

My comrade, a wizard on race, noticed in this folk a strange color shift. Infants in arms are towheads; the children hanging about the front stoop are flaxen or golden of hair; the locks of youth are light chestnut, while the poll of the adult is dark-brown or black. Moreover, the babes with dark-blue eyes grow into adults with dark-brown eyes. This change in hair color which each individual undergoes seems to characterize a certain blend of the Nordic races and is nowhere so noticeable as in southern Appalachia. Here is the reason why we have come to think of our southerners—as Nordic as any of us—as raven-haired.

While in the closet-valleys the highlanders have lost much of the heritage of civilized men and reverted to the half barbaric, let none take this as proof of inferiority. Under like isolation your stock or mine would have done the same. The human stuff in Appalachia is excellent, better, I should say, than four fifths of the foreign-born admitted in the last thirty years. A pleasing regularity of features prevails, for there has been none of that mixing of human types which has produced in some parts of our country much skewness and asymmetry of face. You come upon ven-

erable illiterates with the physiognomy of a Greek philosopher and the bearing of a Roman senator. Mr. Cecil Sharp, an Englishman collecting the old English ballads—surviving among these mountaineers but no longer in England—on looking over the 150 boarding pupils of the famous Settlement School at Hindman, Kentucky, declared he would take them for children of the English upper classes. No doubt in these bogs of ignorance are rusting talents which might enrich the whole American people.

But there has been degeneration in spots owing to local conditions. Intermarriage has gone on until whole communities bear but two or three surnames. In a school of fifty-four pupils, fifty are Bairds. Cousins mate with cousins and the offspring of such unions within the same clan intermarry until you get pedigrees so entangled that the heredity sharps at Woods Holl cannot chart them. Thus any taints or defects in the stock are accentuated. There are lines, I am told, in which weak vision is hereditary. These unfortunates are barely able to distinguish light from darkness, yet they intermarry and beget large families! Experts regard a third of the population in some valleys as hopeless and not worth expending effort upon.

Along some creeks in Knott county, Kentucky, trachoma once infected 80 per cent. of the population; and, had it not been for the trachoma hospital and

clinics maintained by the United States Public Health Service, hundreds would have become totally blind. Hookworm afflicts fourteen out of fifteen children taken into the independent schools. Although proper treatment clears it away in thirty-six hours, the child regularly becomes reinfected when it again lives a spell at home. The only remedy is to clean up the homes and premises, and this happens when the daughter, thoroughly trained in school, returns home and insists on freer use of soap and water, tablecloths, towels, pillow-slips, sheets, fly screens, and outhouses.

Primitive in their housing and mode of life, in their clan loyalty, feuds, and disregard of law, the highlanders are no less so in their prolificacy. North Carolina is the most fecund State in the Union. The prolificacy of its wives is two fifths in excess of the average for the registration area of the United States. Yet the birth-rate of the mountain countries is around thirty-six per 1000, a half higher than for the rest of the State. To match this you must go to the Balkans or to French Canada. Spain, Italy, Bavaria, and Japan are quite outclassed by Swain and Haywood and Ashe counties in North Carolina, or Knott and Leslie counties of Kentucky, whose women as breeders are abreast of the Russian peasant women. I asked scores, "How many were in your father's family?" Seven was the lowest figure mentioned. Eight was the most frequent,

but the number ran to fifteen. Every porch shows three or four towheads less than six years of age. I asked a mountaineer with a brow of an academician,

"How many children in your father's family?"

"Fifteen."

"And how many have *they* had?"

"Oh, more than a hundred!"

A child a year is a common schedule. No doubt children are still coming as fast here as they did a century ago. Everywhere else in the country you find some families which practise limitation, but such are unknown among the mountaineers.

Since the infant mortality is not large, people multiply like rabbits and population pressure is beginning to be noticeable. Said a well-off farmer of seventy, "The farm I inherited was 225 acres, of which forty-five were in cultivation. Now it is occupied by ten families and 150 acres are in cultivation." Year by year the axe clears the steeper slopes and the plow tears them open, so that the mountain streams, which within the memory of man ran crystal clear, are turbid, while, between floods, their flow is but a third of what it once was. Up a two-mile "branch" you may find twenty to thirty farms, becoming more Lilliputian as you mount to the head of the "branch" where the valley has narrowed to a ravine. We learned not to stop for food or shelter at the huts high up but to descend to where

the valley is forty to sixty rods wide and the houses are more comfortable.

No one we talked with sees that a population that quadruples every thirty years is headed for trouble or doubts that families of eight to fifteen can go on forever. To be sure, they notice that the farms are more cramped, the fields steeper, the cabins tinier, the streams fouler and the larders leaner than in their parents' day; but they never connect these facts with their amazing rate of increase. You would suppose that, looking upon the mountains which shut them in, they would realize that couples can't go on forever raising eight children on an average, that the eventual filling up of the country would be as obvious to them as that a tank into which water runs faster than it leaks out will some day be full. Fortunately for the people of the region, the area of land susceptible of profitable cultivation has not yet been cleared save in a few localities, and the natural love of adventure has had a tendency to relieve population pressure by emigration.

The status of women in Appalachia is a fixed point from which one can measure the advancement in the rest of the country. Married in her early teens—the unmated girl of eighteen is looked upon as an "old maid"—and quickly burdened with a large brood, the mountain wife withers early. At twenty the mother

of four will look like a woman of thirty. The "fotched-on" social workers have a bitter saying, "There are no old women here, for the women die early, and no young women, for they are prematurely aged." In her middle age the wife is likely to look fifteen or twenty years older than her husband, so cruelly has life misused her. The custom of the woman doing everything about the house is a relic of pioneer days when the men were abroad hunting most of the time. The woman not only looks after the children but totes all the water from the spring, chops wood, milks the cows, and tends garden. Although the game failed a century ago, the men cannot imagine themselves turning hand to such things. They are "women's work."

A man will apologize for there being no vegetables on the table. "Maw was poorly this spring and she didn't git no garden put in." The cows are so unused to the approach of a trousered creature that if rheumatism cripples "maw's" hand, the cow must be driven two miles night and morning that a niece may milk her. I was given the name of a woman whose husband sold the mineral rights on his farm for $75,000. He told her they were now wealthy and inquired what she would most like to have him get her. After reflection she " 'lowed" that, as the old axe was badly nicked, she'd have him get her a new axe to chop wood with!

Browbeaten from childhood, the women unaided never find their way to a sense of grievance. To prop male domination the preachers have worked the Bible for all it is worth. Armed with the rib story, Eve's sin in Eden, and St. Paul's "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection" and "Wives, submit yourselves," the men crush the woman with the conviction of her inferiority in God's eyes. One never hears of a wife rebelling at her lot. The mountain girls are so corrupted with these ideas that the seminal schools deem it hardly worth while to train them for leadership. They lack self-confidence; besides, who would follow a woman's lead?

With one exception the wives I questioned regarded a woman as "out of her place" when voting. They "couldn't feel right about it," thought politics "should be left to the men." So the women cannot readjust their ideas of what is due them. Even young people of eighteen are tainted with the false notions. It is the youths of fourteen to sixteen who respond to modern ideas as to the proper relation of the sexes.

Family discipline is lax. The girl is made to obey, but the boy, as member of a nobler sex, is too exalted to be corrected by a woman, even if she is his mother. Long before he is half grown, father and older brothers will have fixed him in the belief that it is a shame to suffer a woman to "lay hands" on him. So it

is the boys that are unruly and spoiled. Strangely enough, one finds the same thing among the *cholos* of Peru and Bolivia.

Nothing is more misleading than the time-honored phrase "southern chivalry." Women were indeed idealized in the planter-aristocracy and in the kindred social classes. But among the males of the highlands, as well as of the "poor whites" of the lowlands, there is scarcely a trace of chivalry. Would you see men in cowhide boots showing delicate consideration for women, look not to the South but to the Far West.

In these valley-closets of Appalachia orthodoxy is not losing its grip, nor do fundamentalists clash with liberals. Darwin is unknown or anathema. Religion is not a way of life but a fire-insurance policy. I heard a preacher shout: "Is our object to live this life or to live in eternity?" A gaunt grandma of seventy-four lamented to me that the young people of to-day are bent on enjoyment and think little of the hereafter. She revels in the harsh and forbidding features of her somber creed. She loves the preachers of "old-time religion" and sniffs at the educated young preachers who find beauty in the Gospels. Twice she had been baptized but only in a "crick-hole." She yearns to be immersed some day in a river, as was John the Baptist in the "River Jerdan." At times she misdoubts if she is not "lost." "Nowadays," she complains, "folks

goes to church just to show their fine clothes and the preachers preach for money. They're always shovin' the collection plate under my nose and tellin' me, 'The Lord loveth a cheerful giver.' In *my* day a young woman would cut a piece off the cloth in her loom on Saturday night and make a dress she'd go to meetin' in next mornin'. And if a man hadn't shoes, he wa'n't too proud to go to church barefoot. As for the preacher's pay, land sakes, *that* was fixed up on a week-day, never on the Sabbath."

The Bible settles every question and no other book is worth looking into. The only object in learning to read is to be able to read the Bible. You are religious if you are absorbed in gaining heaven. "Just think," said one of my hosts, "of all that happiness; and after a million years it wouldn't hardly have started!" He has no interest in government, never votes, and doesn't care what happens to the rest of America or the world. He has the naïve selfishness of a child to whom heaven is a mountain of ice cream.

The Old Regular Baptists will not have a paid clergy, oppose Sunday schools, and do not exert themselves to make converts, for that is God's job. To be taken into membership you must have had an "experience,"—*i. e.,* seen "visions" or heard "voices." They do nothing for foreign missions, on the theory that God is abundantly able to convert the heathen

in his own time and way. Besides, didn't Christ say, "Carry neither purse nor scrip"? How human stinginess relishes that phrase! What Christians ever made so few financial sacrifices for their religion? "I don't pay a cent," they will say with a chuckle. Salvation costs them less than their plug tobacco. Never has Christianity sunk to a more sordid form. The Catholicism of Ecuador is hardly so low as this degraded Protestantism born of ignorance and isolation.

Preaching is not to be learned in college nor seminary. The unlettered preacher, who cannot even read out his text but misquotes it from memory, does not ponder his sermon in advance but gets on his feet trusting that the Holy Spirit will put the right words into his mouth. "This is only a talk," he will say; "this is outside talkin'." "Whatever the Lord impresses on my mind I'll tell it thataway." Presently he warms up, lays aside coat, then vest, and in a high chanting voice pours forth a verbal torrent of little meaning interspersed with "Hallelujah!" and "Praise God!" Every sentence or two he will raise his voice with a shout that will carry a mile. The godly, instead of finding such ranting ridiculous, look upon it with awe, for it is supposed to be the sure sign of the presence of the "Power."

These highlanders have been represented as "our contemporary ancestors," who have stood still at the

stage of their forebears when they got pocketed in these valleys. No, it is not so simple as that. Some clans have not even held on to the culture they brought from tide-water Virginia in the days of Daniel Boone. Isolation was too much for them, and, like some of the South African Boers, *they went back*. Lacking schools, books, newspapers, and educated clergy, there was no element among them to blow on the dying embers of learning.

Many of the old will tell you they never had but a few months of schooling, that in their childhood there was only a month or two of "free school" a year. What, then, must have been the school opportunities of *their* parents? Of their grandparents? Since little of the land is fit to till, population has been sparse and not a few children have lived out of the reach of schools. When they were big enough to attend they were too old to begin. Once a transmission line of knowledge is broken, it is hard to reknit. Unlettered backwoodsmen don't want their children to know more than "paw" and "maw" did. They reason: "We've got along purty well without book-larnin'; why can't they?" And so you find ignorance enthroned and arrogant, not humble but self-confident and dogmatic. Benighted preachers have taught them to despise learning and confirmed them in their pride of ignorance. The Bible has grown into a fetish, salva-

tion is an obsession, and the thirst to know this wonderful world is made light of.

Hence, the intellect has become as sterile as a lava field. Have these highlanders produced beauty, as have the peasants of Connemara, or Brittany, or Norway, or the Tyrol? No. Not one hymn, song, ballad, fairy tale, legend, carving, picture, jar, embroidery, pattern of fabric, design of tool, game, festivity, or ceremony has come out of these mountains which was not taken in there.

Fortunately, the darkness is being broken. More power has been bestowed on the county and state educational authorities. Children are required to be in school. North Carolina leads the South in standards of preparation and pay of school teachers. In the worst counties of eastern Kentucky, rural social settlements and community centers, supported from outside, are bringing succor to the public schools. South Carolina found, a few years ago, that three fourths of her negro children could read, but only one fourth of her white mill children. This turned the scales for compulsory education. Moreover, this State sends out teachers who go about from farm to farm teaching adult illiterates to read and write. I found a young woman footing twelve miles a day to make the rounds of her twenty-four pupils. She gives each five lessons a week. All her art is required to persuade these illit-

erates to receive instruction of her. The State gives a dollar to one who gets far enough to write his or her name, and a copy of the Bible to each who manages to read twenty-five pages of the "Bible Story Book."

Mental darkness and blind prolificacy make Appalachia a national menace. The highlanders' comment on our participation in the World War is worthy of morons. And should they continue to beget children at their present rate, Appalachia alone would have us Chinafied by the close of this century. Happily, the isolation and darkness of this "land of the sky" are destined soon to disappear. With superb courage the State of North Carolina has gone in debt $65,000,000 in order that even its roughest parts shall know what good roads are. Soon every county will be traversed by a splendid state road and all the county seats will be linked. Thousands of families in automobiles from the hot lands to the south and west will come up to the mountains in quest of coolness, and everywhere the startled highlander will meet the summer tourist.

Twenty years ago I read, "The Southern Appalachians are the largest horseback area remaining in the world." With this in mind I attended services in a country church ten miles from town. In the grove I counted twenty-one Fords and one saddle-beast! Once

the people sample the fine trunk highways, they will insist that their counties shall improve the secondary roads which lead to them. Then the neighborhood will improve the minor ways which let you out upon the improved road with a Ford rather than an ox-cart. In five years isolation will be at an end for western North Carolina, and telephones, newspapers, motion-picture films, high schools, summer tourists, and educated clergymen will bring to bear the influences which are in play everywhere else in the United States. Other States of Appalachia, struck by the daring of North Carolina, are planning great highway construction.

Summer tourists will be one factor in dispelling the shadows in the strait twisting valleys of West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. But there is another factor in sight. Black veins run through and under the hills, and year by year the spurs of the coal railroads creep up the creek. Presently there is a mining camp; and the influences, good and bad, which come with it will play upon the young people along the "branches." Within twenty years the quest of coal will have wrecked the farming of eastern Kentucky and released her entrapped Americans into the rest of the United States.

Chapter V

ONE ROOT OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION

THREE strands make the modern social question: the control of natural resources, industrial government, and the rôle of capital. It is only the last that I treat here, but it is the biggest of the strands.

The undiscerning always blame some element for the appalling rift which has opened in every modern society. Some blame labor agitators. "Had they not gone about stirring up discontent among workmen, we should not have the social question." They forget that in the eighteenth century there were workingmen just as willing to make a living by agitation as any one to-day; but the conditions then were not right. Why is it that in our time labor responds as never before to those who suggest that it must band together? Vain too is it to charge the rise of the social question to "greedy capitalists." Are capitalists to-day more greedy than those of the eighteenth century? Never before did so many of them take a social point of view; yet the social question grows and will grow.

[1] From the "Quarterly Journal of Economics" for May, 1924.

To the man of science, no one is to blame for the rise of the social question unless it be the inventors of labor-saving machines; and we must certainly acquit them of any intention of conjuring up the specter. Economists and sociologists agree that the social question is a by-product—and inevitable—of our vast use of machinery. Nobody is to blame. Nobody has put poison into our meat. In modern society, class relations are more and more strained, not because people are less just and kindly, but because the giant rôle of capital in production creates classes whose interests clash.

The handicraft stage, such as you see to-day in Chinese cities, prevailed among our forefathers until about the middle of the eighteenth century. Then came the introduction of machinery, and the spread of the factory system, first into the textile branches, and then on from industry to industry, until in the United States, where, on account of easy access to land, labor was scarcer and dearer than anywhere else in the world, the machine era first reached its climax.

Mark how the going over from handicraft to machine production affects human relationships. In the little stalls which line the streets of Canton, each occupied by a worker in ivory, or blackwood, or lacquer, or silk, or brass, the worker owns the shop he works in, the tools he works with, and the material he works on. So, naturally, he owns the product, and the reward

of his labor comes to him in the price he gets for that product. Here there is no room for strife between labor and capital. But look at modern industry. The worker works in another man's factory, with another man's machinery, on another man's material, under another man's supervision; and the product belongs to the other man, all the worker's claims being liquidated in the wage he receives for his labor. Here is the root of that vast issue which has grown up in modern society and threatens to destroy it by internecine conflict.

This has been explained a thousand times; but less familiar is the point I am now going to make. It is commonly assumed that the industrial revolution is something historical, something which in western Europe belongs to the period 1760-1870. On the contrary, it is going on, perhaps faster than ever; only now it takes the form, not of the replacement of hand tool by machine, but of the replacement of the simple machine by the more elaborate and costly machine. The right name for this is *the intensification of capitalism,* and its measure is the value of the capital used in association with the average worker in an industry. To this process we see no end, nor does anybody want it to end. We know that the capital factor is more prominent in production to-day than it was thirty

years ago, and we hope that it will be more prominent thirty years hence than it is now. But for it we should not have the amazing plentifulness and cheapness of the output of machine production. Nevertheless, it brings upon us tragic social difficulties which we cannot evade.

In order to obtain a measure of the intensification of capitalism in American industry, I had a student of mine, Mr. Joseph Jantsch, compute the value of capital per worker in the principal branches for each census year since the United States Census Bureau began to publish the needful data. His findings are as follows: In the manufacture of agricultural implements the capital for each worker has risen from $495 in 1850 to $6764 in 1920; boots and shoes, from $122 to $2902; carpeting, from $623 to $5198; carriages and wagons, from $242 in 1840 to $4338 in 1920; cotton goods, in the same period, from $708 to $1979; woolen goods, from $738 to $4987; paper, from $1004 to $7962; tanning and leather goods, from $601 to $9262; silk goods, from $356 to $4123; iron and steel, from $669 to $7082. I shall not weary with the figures from the rest of the fifty-two branches; the changes are about the same as in the ten I have given. For American manufacturing as a whole the capital per worker has increased from $328 in 1840 to $4901 in 1920, that is, about fifteenfold. Dividing the figures

for each census year by the index number of prices for that year, it appears that, compared with 1840, the value of the capital per worker by 1910 had grown to 8½, and by 1920 it would have been at least 9½ had manufacturers marked up the value of their investment to correspond with the general rise in prices.

It is perfectly safe, then, to assume that the invested capital per worker to-day is *at least* ten times as great as it was a century ago. Let us see how this growth affects the relations between employers and employees. Suppose that a century ago, when a cotton-mill operator quit his loom in the evening, the mill-owner began losing the interest on $200 until the loom started next morning. Then it will be $2000 the use of which the mill-owner is now losing. If he grants shorter hours, without doubling shifts, he is ten times as hard hit as a century earlier. Here you have the real root of the otherwise inexplicable resistance of industrialists to granting the shorter working day; also one root of the tendency toward continuous (day and night, seven-day week) operation. Every economist knows that it was only the war which gave labor its chance to win the eight-hour working day over half the field of industry.

A century ago a striker cost the mill-owner the use of $200 so long as the strike was in force. Now the

striker costs him the use of $2000. There are industries in which a tie-up sterilizes $35,000 per striker. Naturally, the faster a man is losing money, the more he is tempted to resort to desperate measures. The capitalist goes further than the capitalist of two generations ago in hiring labor spies and gunmen, in secretly controlling the local government or the state government in order to be able quickly to inject police or militia into the situation. It is not that he is a worse man than his predecessor. He is, in fact, generally a broader, better man, but he is in a more trying situation. On the other hand, the workingmen understand quite well that capitalists resort to drastic measures in order to head off or break a strike; so they too go to the limit in their measures to prevent their strike being broken. The result is that both parties are more willing to trample upon morality and violate the law in order to avoid defeat. Although the parties involved are not worse men, their conduct during their disputes is more of a menace to society.

Here is the reason why strikes in such branches of industry as railroads, shipping, docks, telegraphs, telephones, and steel, in which the average striker sterilizes from $10,000 to $30,000, are generally attended with much more lawbreaking and violence than mill strikes, in which the average striker sterilizes from $2000 to $8000.

The striker suffers no more now by being jobless than he did a century ago; but the boss loses money ten times as fast. Constantly the strike becomes a more deadly weapon *and the workers know it.* Hence their increasing resort to the strike. Before 1835 we know of only twenty-four strikes in American industry. From 1835 to 1880 there is record of 300. In the twenty-five years from 1880 to 1905 there were 38,-303 strikes and lockouts lasting more than a day. In the next fifteen years about the same number occurred. The record then for a century is one of more strikes, more fiercely fought, and attended by more lawlessness. Both parties are in the grasp of relentless forces which oblige them to behave as they do.

About 1890 the court injunction began to be used to defeat strikes. Between 1898 and 1908 not less than one thousand injunctions of this type were granted. Some of them went so far as to restrain unions from distributing food to the strikers. The injunction issued on behalf of the Buck Stove and Range Company forbade not only officials of the American Federation of Labor, but also officers of affiliated unions, either as officials or as individuals, from directly or indirectly alluding to the fact that the said company had ever been in any controversy with labor. Would such an extraordinary expansion of the judicial power have taken place but for the fact that the mass

of capital dependent on the striker had become so great that the strike could be represented as sterilizing property of great public importance and causing society dire economic loss? In 1890 the American economic system was five and one half times as capitalistic as in 1840, and in 1910 eight and one half times as capitalistic. But for the check imposed by manhood suffrage the strike by now would have been utterly outlawed by the courts.

The extent to which the employer will go to prevent his increasing capital per laborer from being suddenly made unproductive is shown by his growing demand for strike-breakers. No other country has so many big strike-breaking companies as the United States. Single companies are said to have tens of thousands of men on their pay-rolls. For the same reason the use of labor spies has become very common among employers, although we have no knowledge of how many such spies there are.

Although the mass of industrial capital is growing faster than population and faster than production, there need not be a distinct capitalist class in case the capital used in an establishment is furnished by those who work in it. This is *producers' coöperation.* About once in a generation there is a furor over the possibility of solving the social enigma by the workers

in a concern becoming collectively employers of themselves. In this country there was a wave of faith in producers' coöperation a century ago, again in the fifties, again in the eighties; and it is coming up now. It seems as if each generation were taken in by this "solution." Yet now, after a century's pleading, does a thousandth part of our manufactures come from a coöperative factory? The reader will not fail to distinguish between this form of coöperation and *distributive coöperation,* which has demonstrated great possibilities.

Is there any other alternative to the ownership of capital by a capitalist class? The Socialists say: "Yes, we offer a perfect remedy for this difficulty. Let all the capital in industries of social significance be owned by society collectively; that is, substitute public capitalism for private capitalism."

Well, this was tried in Russia—under the worst possible conditions, it is true, but still tried. At one time the Supreme Economic Council was in charge of 4400 nationalized industrial enterprises. This council was organized into fifty-three boards, each looking after all the establishments in Russia producing a certain thing. One board would look after all the soap factories, another after all the candle factories, another after all cotton mills, and so on. There are few signs of success in these nationalized establish-

ments. On the contrary, their failure to produce was so egregious that the Socialist masters of Russia had to recede from this policy and reopen the field to private enterprise.[2]

Suppose, then, we reject socialism and keep on with private capitalism. How shall we come out? The statisticians of the Bureau of Economic Research compute that, in 1910, 28 per cent. of the values produced in the field of our manufactures went for the use of capital and 72 per cent. went for some form of service. Now, since the capital used alongside labor becomes ever more copious and massive, it is to be expected that eventually a larger share will go to capitalists. Let us cast our thoughts forward a little along the line on which we are advancing.

Imagine a manufacturing concern which in 1910 represented $280,000 of genuine investment and employed seventy-two persons. Such a ratio of workers to capital is found in thousands of mills. Suppose that, after deducting taxes, insurance, wear and tear, depreciation, and the cost of materials, there is $100,000 of value produced. If capital got $28,000, that is, at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, and labor got the rest, that is, $72,000, or $1000 apiece, the sharing

[2] Of late it is not so certain as it seemed in 1924 that the state factories in Russia are not an economic success.

would conform to what was typical then in the manufacturing field.

In 1940 a concern in the same line which has a value product of $100,000 annually will have a bigger capital and a smaller labor force. Suppose the capital is now $400,000, while the laborers are sixty instead of seventy-two. If capital and labor receive each the same return per unit as in 1910, the earnings will be divided $40,000 to capital and $60,000 to labor; forty to sixty, instead of twenty-eight to seventy-two, as in 1910. The change in ratio of sharing is not due to labor-skinning but to the fact that machinery counts for more in the productive process.

Let the industry continue on the same line, and by 1970 perhaps the mass of capital in a concern with an annual value product of $100,000 will bulk $500,000, while the number of employees will be fifty. That is $10,000 of capital to an employee, which is the ratio in the milk condenseries, the slaughter-houses, and the factories making farm implements, in Wisconsin. The division of the value product would then be fifty-fifty, each worker and each unit of capital getting the same as in 1910. It is not unlikely that by the year 2000—and no doubt a third of the babies born this year will live to see the year 2000—the capital of a concern turning out $100,000 of value a year might be $600,000 and the number of employees forty, so

that the ratio of sharing might be sixty to forty. In other words, it is not at all fantastic to suppose that in the year 2000, in the manufacturing field, capital, compensated at no higher rate than in 1910, might nevertheless absorb 60 per cent. of the value product.

Consider the social implications of such an outcome. Of this 60 per cent. perhaps 10 per cent. might be paid to persons in receipt of wages or salaries, that is, productive people. The other five sixths would go to persons who were primarily capitalists, that is, more than half of their income would come to them as earnings of their capital. They would feel themselves members of the capitalist class and would behave accordingly. Can we imagine that a society in which half the wealth produced in industry went to capitalists would be in any sense a democratic society? The capitalist class would have such enormous resources to dispose of that it could control secretly every important channel of publicity, guard every avenue by which ideas reach the voter's mind. Almost from the cradle the opinions of the voter would be molded into uncritical acceptance of the principles underlying this private capitalism. The forms of political democracy might be retained, but the whole thing would be a sham. The reality would be *capitalistic feudalism.*

There is no avoiding this sinister outcome save by

rational division of the industrial field between private capitalism and public capitalism. Let me call this *industrial dualism*. The basis for such a rational division is afforded by the fact that branches of industry differ greatly in their degree of capitalism. In one branch the worker coöperates with $1000 worth of capital; in another with $5000; in a third with $25,000. In the first perhaps three cents of the consumer's dollar goes for the hire of capital; in the second, say fifteen cents; in the third, possibly seventy-five cents. In the third case it may be twenty-five times as important to lift from the consumer the burden of capital charge as in the first case.

For the lifting of this burden is precisely what public capitalism should aim to do. A private water company brought mountain water to a certain western city through a tunnel which cost $4,000,000 to bore. Now, indefinitely into the future water-users will have to pay one fourth of a million dollars a year as recompense for the "use" of this hole in the rock. After a thousand years, when they will have paid a quarter of a billion dollars, they will be no nearer being rid of it than they are to-day. But if the municipality should take over the water-supply, it would issue twenty-year water bonds, charge the users a little more for the next twenty years, during which time the bonds would be retired, and thenceforth no account would be

taken of the cost of that tunnel. It would be amortized—dead, buried, and forgotten, just as we forget the cuts and fills which made possible our present highways.

If we should allow private capitalists to provide our post-office buildings, then a part of the charge for a stamp would go for interest on this capital and another part to replace the building when it decays. As it is, Uncle Sam builds his post-office buildings, and our stamps contain no charge for the use of the capital they represent.

Were we for private capitalism throughout, the public would be paying interest on all the capital it has to use: on the city hall and the capitol; on the jail, the hospital, and the school buildings; on parks, boulevards, and piers; on breakwaters, lighthouses, and jetties; on libraries, state universities, and public forests. If it is wise to own these in order to avoid a perpetual charge, why may it not be wise to own a traction system, a power-development plant, or a coal mine, in order to avoid perpetual tribute to the private capitalist? If the slogans "Why pay rent?" and "Own your own home" are sound for the individual, why not for the community?

The enterprises suited to public capitalism are those in which the capital factor is prominent and assumes rather permanent forms; whose product is in the na-

ture of a public necessity; and whose capital charge takes a serious part of the consumer's dollar. On this principle manufacturing would constitute a field in which private capital and private enterprise might disport itself indefinitely. The type of concern to be considered for public ownership would be one in which the capital per worker ran above $15,000; it would rarely be other than a "public utility."

In order to lift the charge for capital from the consumer's back, public operation is not essential. We can imagine a power-development enterprise in which the public supplies the capital represented by the dam, the transmission line, the good farms which have become reservoir bottom. If, fearful lest the concern become the prey of politics, the State should lease it for a term of years to a private company, it would take its pay not in money rental but in a low price of current to consumers. By this means the consumers would be relieved of the heavy capital charge which would rest upon them in case the site, dam, and transmission lines were private capital.

Conceive of a nation's industry as a lake deep in the middle and shoaling toward the margin. What this lake contains is production capital. Its depth varies with the degree of capitalism in an industry, that is, the volume of capital per worker. In its deepest parts

the columns of capital are tall—perhaps $35,000 per worker, as in a power plant. Off near the shore you will get industries in which hardly any production capital is used—for example, the manufacture of trout flies. In the shallower parts of the lake there is nothing to be gained by the substitution of public capitalism for private capitalism. Only from five to fifteen cents of the consumer's dollar goes to pay earnings on capital, and the mistakes of public capitalism might easily offset this, so that the consumer would have no benefit from not having to pay rental for capital. In the deeper parts of the lake from thirty to sixty cents of the consumer's dollar goes for the hire of private capital, and it would be a great boon to him to amortize this capital and be rid of the annual charge. Here is a proper field for the extension of public capitalism. Of course, only experience will show how far into the less deep parts of the lake it is advantageous to carry this policy.

By the step-by-step extension of public ownership we avoid the rash plunge which Russia took. We are at liberty to mark the results of each step taken, and pause if it appears that we are moving too fast or in the wrong direction. Should we finally extend public ownership over that portion of the industrial field which is most capitalistic, leaving entirely to private enterprise that portion of the field which is less capi-

talistic, we may come to A. D. 2000 with a capitalist class relatively no larger or richer or more dominating than we have to-day. Thus, by advancing along the path of public ownership, it may be possible to avert the decadence of democracy and the development of a capitalistic feudalism, without abandoning private capitalism and plunging into the bogs and thickets of socialism.

Chapter VI

THE UNITED STATES OF INDIA[1]

IN Delhi in a house of lofty rooms overlooking a venerable garden I talked with Mahatma Gandhi, who had just finished his weekly "twenty-four hours of silence." He looked the perfect ascetic, for only lately he had concluded a three weeks' fast in penance for the riots between Hindus and Mohammedans. "I doubt," he said, "if the rule of the Moguls or Mahrattas had much effect on the lives of the common people of India. In their seven hundred thousand rural villages they continued to manage their common affairs through the *panchayat* or elected Council of Elders. But this British *raj* is infinitely more penetrating, searching, and oppressive. The people's initiative is stunted as never before. Still, we have no idea of *forcing out* the British; we hope to gain our end by touching their heart and imagination."

The public men of England have had every opportunity to give us *their* version of what their country is doing in India. Is it not high time that we attend to

[1] From the "Century Magazine" for December, 1925.

this ground-swell of Indian Nationalism and learn just what it is that critics of British rule complain of?

Long ago, they assure us, before the Mohammedan conquests, A. D. 1200-1600, before the break-up of empire and the anarchy of the eighteenth century, every Indian village had its school. Even now, in Burma, thanks to the free schools in the Buddhist monasteries, half of those above five years of age can read and write. But in India, after a century—in some parts much more—of British rule, less than a tenth of those above ten years of age are literate. In the Philippines the proportion is a half. The Americans have had only a quarter of a century for leaving their mark on the Filipinos, yet a tenth of them are in school as against a bare thirtieth of the Indian population.

The difference reflects the contrast between British political ideals and American political ideals. The Americans deliberately set out to prepare their brown wards for self-government by means of the public school. The British, however, harbored no such plan for their Indian subjects. Their ideal has been aristocratic, for the fine democracy that has been growing up in Great Britain since the reform of 1832 left no mark on policy out in the empire. It has been too busy fighting the battles of the masses at home. So the spirit of the Government of India has been that of the old noble families of Britain. The arrival of a time when

their dark subjects would manage their political affairs was never within the contemplation of the earls and marquises sent out to Hindustan as governors and viceroys. They imagined that on into the dim future, as far as eye could pierce, the peoples of India would be ruled from without. Before 1905 probably no British proconsul dreamed of India's wanting to govern herself. Had the British believed in educating for citizenship, there would be thrice as many literates in India as there actually are. Indeed, in certain native states under enlightened maharajahs—Travancore, Cochin, and Baroda—more of the people read and write than in any part of British India. When it is remembered that the chief motive in halting conquest and preserving the native states was that they might serve as dark spots heightening by contrast the brilliancy of the well-governed British India all about them, the richness of the joke on the ruling race will be appreciated. Yes, the Indian Nationalists may well resent the design of keeping them indefinitely in subjection rather than assisting them to rise and stand on their own feet.

Ever since the great mutiny of 1857 the army policy of the Government has reflected mistrust. The proportion of British troops to native is never to fall below one to two and a half; actually it is one to two and a quarter. This requires India to keep 61,000 white

troops, although one Tommy costs rather more than four native soldiers. The Indian fighters bear the brunt of holding in check the robber tribes of the northwest frontier, but among the garrisons stationed about India to prevent risings there are nearly as many British as Indians.

Mistrust, too, dictates that Indians shall have nothing to do with the more terrific weapons of modern warfare. They are not admitted to the Air Force, the Tank Corps, the armored car companies, the Royal Horse Artillery, the field artillery, the medium artillery. They fire only those guns which are trained upon the external enemy. Professors of physics in private universities are confidentially requested by the Government not to teach their students anything about wireless telegraphy.

It seems a bit "thick" that the 137,000 native troops should be officered almost exclusively by British. Until lately the only Indian officers have been uneducated men promoted from the ranks, holding the "viceroy's commission" and never rising above *subadar* major or *ressaldar* major. Any smooth-cheeked British second lieutenant outranks them because he holds always the "king's commission." The stock excuse is, "The native troops won't follow a native officer, sir!" Queer, isn't it? Turkish troops fight well when led by Turkish of-

ficers; Japanese troops fight well when led by Japanese officers; but we are asked to believe that material for the making of good officers does not exist in India. Either the British do not want young Indians to learn the art of war, or else, as an ex-commander-in-chief remarked to the head of the Hindu University of Benares, they "have to provide for their young men."

Of late, qualified Indian cadets, in number up to ten a year, may receive the "king's commission." Inasmuch as the vacancies among the 4000 white officers commanding Indian soldiers run about 160 a year, at this rate the officer corps will be Indianized when the Greek kalends arrive. The Indian Legislative Assembly votes that a fourth of these vacancies should be thrown open to Indians; but so far its recommendation is unheeded.

There is resentment, too, that an Indian youth who wishes to learn how to defend his country has to spend two years at the War College at Sandhurst in England. The patriots demand that a war college be set up in India to train officers for the Indian army. They remark with bitterness that when they ask for self-government they are met with, "But you aren't able to defend yourselves." When they reply, "Well, then, give us an opportunity to learn the art of defending ourselves," that opportunity is withheld. They infer that it is the policy of their British masters to treat

them as a subject people, and that all the fine talk about the British Empire having become the "British-Indian Commonwealth of Free Nations" is eye-wash for the onlooking world. So far as India can see, she is still "dependency" rather than "equal partner."

Critics insist that the Indian army, which eats up two thirds of the income of the Central Government, is far bigger than India needs. It is used as a handy reservoir to draw upon when England suddenly needs force "out there"—fighting men in Burma, Tibet, China, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Hedjaz. In fact, a third of it is there for imperial purposes, not India's security; but it is India that must foot the bill. Whether this charge is true or not is more than we inexpert outsiders can settle.

A candid English professor of political economy in a mission college confessed to me:

"India once had very flourishing industries, shipbuilding and a great carrying-trade. All these were destroyed long ago by the harsh, discriminating policy of the British, and only in our time has an Indian-owned cotton manufacture sprung up. So India came to be an exporter of agricultural produce and an importer of manufactured goods; hence, there was nothing for the people to live by save agriculture. The result has been a continual subdivision of the soil, the

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growth of peasant indebtedness, and the phenomena of overpopulation. How frightfully overpopulated Japan would be had she been restrained from fostering her manufacturing industries by tariffs and otherwise!"

The trade policy of Parliament and, to a less extent, of its *alter ego,* the Government of India, has been consistently directed to giving British industries the upper hand over their Indian competitors. In the old days no duties were imposed on English goods imported into India, while Indian imports into England were made to pay a high duty. The Government of India was not allowed to levy an export duty on raw materials which the English manufacturer was interested in. By a shrewd use of export duties India's exports to countries other than Britain were forced to flow through Britain and leave a profit with her. Indian products were taxed on crossing frontiers between Indian states, while British goods were exempt from inland transit duties.

In the teeth of England's commercial ascendancy the United States, Germany, and Japan have built up their industries by a thoroughgoing use of trade restrictions and protective tariffs. India's nascent industries were equally in need of shelter, but, no! the purest free-trade doctrine was applied to them. Manchester raged at any duties on her cotton piece-goods imported into

India and hypocritically professed fear of "an increase in the cost of articles of clothing to the poorest of the population of India." Between 1875 and 1882 she succeeded in clearing away all such duties, so that the Government of India was the only one in the world which raised no revenue from imports. When, thirty years ago, fiscal necessity obliged that Government to reimpose a general import duty of 5 per cent., the Lancashire manufacturers were so jealous of the bit of protection which thus would come to Indian cotton-mills that they sought and actually obtained the imposition of a "countervailing excise duty" on the product of Indian mills. At a time when other countries were levying duties of 40 or 50 per cent. on foreign goods to protect their infant industries, Indian industries might not enjoy the petty shelter of a 5 per cent. revenue tariff. Such ruthless treatment of India's infant industries was bitterly resented, and not long ago the Legislative Assembly at Delhi by a large majority asked for repeal of the excise. The Fiscal Commission of 1922, composed of eminent economists and business men of both races, declared:

"The existing Cotton Excise Duty should, in view of its history and associations, be unreservedly condemned, and the Government of India should frankly express their desire to clean the slate."

But still it functions!

There are other policies which sacrifice Indian industrial interests. India's gold reserve and other large balances are kept in England and lent to English business men when they might be kept in India and lent to Indian business men. In vain have Indian economists urged the setting up of a state bank. Nor has India an industrial bank such as has benefited German and Japanese industries. Little has been done for industrial education, higher or lower. Save in Bengal and Mysore no attention has been paid to teaching the manual arts and the handicrafts in the government elementary schools. In the fourteen universities the liberal-arts colleges are well cared for, but there is no decent engineering college in India.

Valuable mineral deposits have been leased to foreigners, while Indians have not been incited to exploit their own resources. Only now is a school of mines being established. A British economist in India gives it as his opinion that the Government has come into such relations of dependence and assistance with the steamship lines plying between India and Great Britain that there is now no chance for Indian shipping. He justifies the Nationalists in feeling that the cards are stacked against Indian enterprise.

That the English rule India solely with benevolent intent will do to tell children; on the other hand, only cheap cynics see the English as mere exploiters. The

guiding conception of the relations of the two peoples has been that of a *partnership*. Britain's idea is to produce a benefit by selling to the Indians at a price fixed by herself a necessity of life which she is adept at producing—viz., law and order; by hooking up Indian public revenue with British administrative capacity and engineering skill so as to produce profitable public works; by fructifying India's undeveloped natural resources with British technical knowledge; by bringing together in manufacturing enterprises Indian labor and British capital.

In this partnership, to be sure, Britain has the say, India being a sleeping, not to say a comatose, partner. The English have decided what enterprises shall be undertaken and have fixed the terms on which their trained ability, experience, or capital shall work with Indian revenues, natural resources, or labor. It has been theirs to settle how the fruits from their domination or investments in India shall be shared. Naturally, they have seen to it that their share is a goodly one.

Bitter polemic rages over the question whether the lot of the Indian people has been bettered under British rule. The Nationalists picture an overtaxed people sinking into an ever deeper poverty. But the evidence is conflicting, and even the professional economists of both races are in doubt as to the underlying trend. Even if there has been no improvement in the

material condition of the masses, it does not follow that the British have hogged the economic benefits from railways, irrigation, mines, and plantations. The Nationalists are excessively loath to recognize the cardinal fact that in the last forty years the Indians *have added a fifth to their numbers*. Here, perhaps, is where most of India's dividends from her partnership with Britain have gone. Instead of living better, she has chosen to plow back her share in order to rear therefrom fifty million more human beings. If she prefers excess of progeny to comfort, that is her affair; but let us not hold the British responsible for Indian poverty without first taking into account the fantastic Indian birth-rate.

Be that as it may, Britain's gain from her dominion over India certainly foots up a tidy sum. Her banking-houses doing business in India net fifty million dollars a year in financial commissions. On their Indian business British shipping concerns collect one hundred and forty millions of dollars. The British capital lent to the Government of India or invested in Indian railways, tramways, canals, mines, mills, plantations, and trade runs well above three billion dollars, the annual return from which can hardly be less than one hundred and eighty million dollars. It is impossible to learn just how many British hold civil or military places under the Government or follow a business or pro-

fession in India, but the number cannot be less than 15,000. These men probably have twice the income they could command in England.

Thus, the viceroy costs $270,000 a year without allowing for his personal staff and household charges, which bring the total well above $400,000. A member of his council gets more than twice the pay of a member of our cabinet. The commander-in-chief draws a salary of $32,000. The pay of the governor of a province ranges from $22,000 to $42,000. A member of the governor's council has a salary of $21,000. High Court judges are paid $16,000; political residents of the first class, the same; of the second class, $11,000. The number of officials with salaries of from $9000 to $15,000 runs up into the hundreds. Every retiring civil servant gets a liberal pension.

With half an eye one can see that Britain will lose heavily when India ceases to be her close preserve. A self-governing India will not favor her as Canada or New Zealand does. Mining concessions will no longer be given exclusively to British companies. Non-British capital will be made welcome, while a National Government will not sacrifice everything to the regularity of returns to foreign capital. Continental and Yankee capital will shoulder its way into the banking and carrying trade of India. Two thirds of the government

posts held by the British will be turned over to Indians, while the remainder, following the historic example of Japan, will go to experts of various nationalities. Since at least a quarter of a billion dollars of annual income is at stake, we may be sure that the governing class in Great Britain will cling to their control over India and relinquish it only when catastrophe is imminent.

Such are the chief counts in the indictment of British rule. As set-off should be listed such substantial blessings as security, justice, honest and capable administration, impartiality between races, castes, and classes, economic advance, and the introduction of the science and culture of the West. Even the ideals of liberty and representative government to which the Indians appeal when they arraign alien rule have entered the Indian mind by the study of the political masterpieces of Milton and Burke in the high schools and colleges the British set up in India. Casting up the account one sees justification for vigorous protest on the part of the Indians, but not for burning indignation. Wherefore, then, bomb outrages, conspiracies to assassinate British officials and (in 1922) 40,000 political offenders in jail or deported? After copious converse with the Nationalists I could see no sins of contemporary British rule big and black enough to ac-

count for the intensity of their feelings. Really their indictment is a rationalization of feelings which have their roots elsewhere.

India played a loyal part in the World War, giving myriads of soldiers and half a billion dollars to help England out of a hole. From the high-spirited Punjab in the Northwest some 400,000 men had gone to the war. Naturally, after peace came, the Indians looked for some sign of appreciation of what they had endured in a quarrel not their own. But the bureaucrats were guilty of the amazing folly of bringing in, early in 1919, the repressive Rowlatt bills designed to clothe the executive with considerable powers not subject to judicial review. The idea of making permanent the oppressive powers exercised during the war was intolerable. Mr. Gandhi organized a passive resistance movement, and agitation against the odious bills became general. In the city of Amritsar the secret deporting of two popular leaders of this agitation caused an excited crowd to approach the deputy commissioner's bungalow to learn what he had done with them. There was a clash with the police, bloodshed, and a sudden unpremeditated outbreak of mob fury in which five English were done to death.

The next day at noon General Dyer made proclamation that no public meeting would be allowed. Only a

small fraction of the people could have heard the notice, but when, four hours later, the general heard that a public meeting was in progress in the Jalianwala Bagh, a large open space girt with buildings, he went there with fifty men and, without giving a warning to disperse, opened fire upon a crowd of 15,000 unarmed persons listening to a speech along Gandhi lines in support of resolutions condemning the mob outrages of the previous afternoon. Dyer continued firing until his ammunition was exhausted, then marched his troop away, leaving behind him about 400 dead and 1200 wounded.

During the subsequent months of martial law the things that were done to humiliate and terrorize the people were worthy of Prussianism in its flower. Because some students were in the mobs, a thousand students from seven colleges were required for many days to walk sixteen miles a day in the Indian sun. The street in which an Englishwoman had been beaten by the mob was closed to Indians save those who would crawl, and the residents on this street could get to or from their houses only on all fours. Vicarious floggings were many, while armored cars roared about the country shooting offhand into villages and knots of unarmed people. Airplanes bombed or machine-gunned at random without knowing whether the groups massacred were rioters or wedding parties.

These atrocities stand out of line with the British record in India and should be laid to war hysteria. Although O'Dwyer, governor of the Punjab, and Dyer have been officially exonerated, the government British curse them for having undone the work of generations of faithful Indian civil servants. They cowed the Punjab, but they set India ablaze and let loose forces which in 1921 very nearly stalled the governmental machine. Only as the gray dust of time settles over the blood-stains will the Indians realize how very untypical the Punjab atrocities were.

Another root of bitterness is purely psychological—viz., the galling sense of inferiority begotten by the overbearing ways of some of the British. You come upon no end of cases. An American Y man told me of traveling second-class with two British Tommies. While they were getting refreshments an Indian professor came into the compartment with his luggage. When the Tommies returned they ordered him out, and when he stood his ground they kicked his baggage out on the platform. The rest of his life that professor will be virulently anti-British. "Only yesterday," the American went on, "I saw two Tommies in the door of a second-class compartment bar entrance to a fine-looking Indian with a ticket. Although such a compartment seats nine persons, they intended to keep it all to themselves!"

A young Indian recounted how years ago he saw a British official try to turn an Indian lady traveling with her maid out of her reserved first-class compartment in the middle of the night. He wanted it for himself! Only the threatening attitude of the native crowd caused him to desist. This young man has met with like cases scores of times. An American bishop told me how, accompanied by an Indian gentleman, he called upon a British official as a committee. The official invited the bishop to be seated but let the Indian stand throughout the interview!

An American said of Madras: "The feeling cannot improve here until there is a change of front on the part of the British. They should come down off their high horse and carry on in the spirit of the reforms."

A rajah very conservative in his politics remarked, "The passion to be rid of British rule comes from the fact that there is not a single Indian who has not several times in his life been insulted or aggrieved by some British official; and they are becoming ever more sensitive to such treatment." This bears out Lionel Curtis, father of "dyarchy," who, after citing Lord Morley's "India is a country where bad manners are a crime," adds: "Amongst educated Indians with whom I am acquainted there are some who are, as I feel, definitely and finally embittered against the British connection. In every instance this bitterness had its

roots in some rankling memory of insult at the hands of a European."

I asked an Indian university student, "What practical difference would *Swaraj* (home rule) make?" He replied: "Now, if an Indian has been waiting a long time to see a British official and a European comes in, the latter will be taken in to the official first. With *Swaraj* this would at once disappear."

The British bar Indians from their clubs. In Bombay the yacht club boasts that no Asiatic save an independent sovereign, the Amir of Afghanistan, has ever entered its precincts. In Madras no Indian can be taken into the Madras club. An English editor justified to me this practice by the necessity of keeping our race pure. He forgot that the male club affords no opportunity for the sexes to meet.

Since the Amritsar massacre and the non-coöperation movement the temper of the Indians has greatly changed. Said an American Y secretary: "The Indians are the most forgiving people on earth. I have never seen an Indian do a discourteous thing, even under extreme provocation. But since Gandhi inspired self-respect in them, they assert themselves in going after a seat in a car or a place at the ticket-window. They say, 'We've never been treated with courtesy; why should we be courteous?' "

Half a thousand miles away another American testi-

fied: "Ten years ago the Indian stepped back from the ticket-window when the European approached. Now the latter joins the line, and if he doesn't look sharp the Indian will push in front of him. Formerly the Indian shunned a railway compartment occupied by a European if he could possibly squeeze in elsewhere; now he glories in coming right in. Formerly when an Indian gentleman gave a big garden-party he would invite all the prominent Europeans in the place, and they would receive most of the attention. Now few of them will be invited, and they will not be keen on coming because they will be made to feel that they play second fiddle."

A British Y secretary testifies to the change which has come over the spirit of his countrymen:

"Back in 1915 when I would ask an Englishman for a contribution to our work, he would promise so much for this and so much for that, then add, 'But not one anna for the damned natives.' The British have quit talking of 'the damned natives.' The new self-assertiveness and truculence of these natives has rather awed them. They no longer feel themselves so firm in the saddle. It has dawned upon them that they must keep in favor with these same natives; for what are ninety thousand Britishers among three hundred millions? Many read the handwriting on the wall and believe that the days of our *raj* are numbered."

As time passes, the British super-caste capping the hierarchy of Indian society does not approach the people; rather it recedes from them. When India was six months from England by sail round the Cape, a double lustrum might elapse before the official revisited his country. So he made friends in his field of labor, and some of them were Indians. He lived with a native woman, begot "Anglo-Indians," identified himself with the country, and became, perhaps, an ardent student of India's great past. For these giants of eld —such as Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir William Wedderburn—the educated Indians feel a warm affection.

But now, thanks to steam and the Suez Canal, London is only sixteen days from Bombay. Many officials run home every other year, while some find an annual round trip by the P. & O. cheaper than a vacation in the hills. With his English family and frequent visits home, the ordinary D.C.'s ties with native life and thought become slight and slack. He pities himself as an "exile," keeps in closest touch with England, and never hobnobs with Indians. After office he hies him to the club, warms up on the tennis-court, then, stretched on the lounge-chair, swaps anti-native myths with confrères until it is time to drive home and dress for a dinner at which bright men with a university degree

will circulate their crassest racial prejudices expecting them to be taken as self-evident truths. Next day there is still more "crust" for Indians to endure.

Once at a dinner after patiently listening to what seemed to me wild paradoxes I broke out:

"Gentlemen, you can't imagine how queer what you are saying sounds. It is as if you should argue: 'The water is rough; now is a good time to rock the boat'; 'The ice is thin; therefore let us stamp on it.' "

Their cure for Indian disaffection was "firmness," which, being interpreted, means, "Yield nothing and shoot to kill."

"So you think human nature works that way?" I queried.

"Ah, but these are Orientals and Orientals crave a master. The sterner you are with them, the more they will love you!"

What super-bosh!

The fact is these isolated British, mingling too much with one another, become the prey of the most dangerous delusions, for there is nothing you will not believe if it is what everybody you meet is saying. Constant access to the native mind would save them from these delusions, but that is just the thing the average bureaucrat lacks. On the strength of a few formal or official contacts he imagines he understands native

character. "Egad, sir, I have been among these beggars *twenty years,* and *I know!*"

Really the natives he meets wear masks. When a crisis arrives and the masks are dropped he gets stunning surprises. No one who sees what hallucinations infest official circles will retain any faith in that darling maxim of the brass-bound imperialists, "Trust the man on the spot." Often the judgment of this warped, atrabiliar, bedeviled man on the spot is worth considerably less than nothing at all.

At first the visitor assesses home rule in terms of efficiency. Would an Indian Government handle defense, irrigation, railways, telegraphs, forests, famines, and epidemics as well as they are now handled? Surely not. Well, then—

Presently one sees deeper, begins to notice how alien rule saps character. I recalled the high head, squared shoulders, and eye-flash of the Japanese as they pass foreigners in their streets. "We are masters here," their bearing says. Here in India, not so. In our presence most Indians, even the educated, act as if unsure of themselves. They have been sat upon so often! Not, of course, the Swarajists, who have broken with the British; they are sturdy in manner, even defiant. But many others are unmanned by the consciousness that, no matter how able, patriotic, or right they may be, it is always the foreigner who decides. As you note that

characteristic droop of the shoulders, that too deferential air, you feel it unnatural that the will which reigns here originates sixty-five hundred miles away.

The Nationalists warn that alien rule is emasculating Indian character, for the British are coming to be more masterful, the Indians more subject. A century ago treaties would be made between British officials and native potentates as equals. But gradually the Indians are sinking into a common subjection. The native princes are but gorgeous puppets who would never dream of lifting a finger against the real lords of the land. The civil population is disarmed as never before. "I doubt," exclaimed an indignant bishop, "if any people should be as helpless as these people have been made." Thanks to the Arms Act, the authorities know the location of every firearm in native hands. While there is nothing for Indians to fight with but sticks and stones, they are menaced with the most terrible engines—tanks, armored cars, machine-guns, airplanes, and aërial bombs. Moreover, thanks to the wireless-masts at every fort, the heads of police and troops all over India communicate as if they sat in one room. No wonder Mohammed Ali said to me with a wry smile:

"With the Mahatma (Mr. Gandhi) non-violence is an article of faith; with me it is a matter of policy."

A noble English educator, who has devoted himself

to the Nationalist cause, testified: "The clutch of this Government is all-pervasive. You cannot dream how it really is. A few political crimes by youthful hotheads will bring under suspicion every social worker in Bengal. The police will get him or he will be blackmailed. Indians cannot find a place where they can take their own initiative and work out their own salvation. Spies dog one everywhere. I have caught them with their hands in my desk. This is one of the best governments in the world; many officials fairly work their heads off; yet it doesn't fit."

Said an Indian professor of economics, "Year by year we are losing in initiative."

"How can that be?" I asked. "For this British dominion has been here a long time."

"The bureaucratic machine constantly touches our lives at more and more points, so that the sphere of matters open to us to settle for ourselves is ever narrower. Unless our bright, ambitious young men pursuing higher studies can look forward to controlling some sections of this huge machine, they will lose initiative and become more and more emasculated."

The Swarajists insist India is ripe for self-government now, but the sociologist shakes his head. India is two thirds as big as the United States and has near thrice our population. Not only is there great diversity of race, but 147 tongues are in use. Ten lan-

guages boast from ten to a hundred million speakers apiece, while four others have from five to ten million speakers each. The bulk of the people do not think of themselves as Indians, but as Mahrattas, Bengalis, Punjabis, Madrasis, Rajputs. The modern sentiment of Indian nationality is of recent origin, and it is doubtful if one man in five feels it. At present there is a common aspiration to be rid of foreign rule; but, were that effected, the latent oppositions would become active and threaten the social peace. India has been fitly characterized as "marching in uneven stages through all the centuries from the fifth to the twentieth." There are, say, half a million with the equivalent of a high school or university education; but then there are tracts "where it would be fantasy to dream of representative institutions." Like those ocean depths to which sunlight and air never penetrate, there are in India "soundless deeps through which the cry of the press and the platform never rings."

The Mohammedans are outnumbered three to one by the Hindus but have not forgotten that once they were the masters. Mr. Gandhi characterizes the former as bullies, the latter as cowards. Frequently the antipathy between the communities has flared up —crimson! Lajpat Rai said to me at Lahore, "These bloody Hindu-Moslem riots furnish the British with

an argument we hardly know how to reply to." They are so unaccountable that many suspect the hand of England, the *tertium gaudens,* is behind them. Not that the secret service incites Mohammedans to sacrifice a cow in public or the Hindus to make triumphant music while passing a mosque, but that the man who eggs on the excited crowd in a religious procession to resent a hurled brickbat by attacking a temple is probably in the pay of the police. The Punjab and Bengal have a majority of Mohammedans, and, unless their feeling undergoes a wonderful change, it is possible that these great provinces would elect to remain outside an Indian Union just as North Ireland remains outside the Irish Free State.

The Hindus still are split by caste, that foe of patriotism and fellow-citizenship. There are sixty-seven main castes, none with less than two thirds of a million members. As for the sub-caste—that group of families into whom you can marry, from whom you can take water and food—there are thousands of them! Caste determines one's religious, social, economic, and domestic life from the cradle to the grave. On trains and in city streets, among the college-bred, in reformed and progressive circles, caste no longer counts for much; but out among the people its retreat is that of a glacier. When a British college president declares, "Caste will be here a million years hence,"

one must smile; but it will long be a great obstacle to nationhood. Will voters trust a man of another caste to represent them in the legislature? Until they do, the Hindus cannot be said to be in the *civic* stage of social development.

The non-Brahmans, who outnumber the Brahmans ten to one, resent the prevalence of the latter in the public services and the liberal professions, so that in South India they have insisted upon special representation in the legislature. This concession may yet make no end of trouble. Then there are fifty-five millions—a fourth of all Hindus—below caste, the impure or "untouchables," who dread lest a caste-controlled government should legalize the disabilities they are under. The British of course will never do this.

With such a make-up of population it would not be surprising if, instead of coöperating politically, the discordant elements presently reached for one another's throat—which would quickly bring back personal rule of the familiar Oriental type. When I compare the confusion in China since the Manchu emperor was set aside in 1911 with the rosy hopes the revolutionary leaders confided to me in 1910, I wonder whether *Swaraj* in India might not prove to be as disappointing as the Republic of China is.

The Swarajists point to Japan as a brilliant example of an Oriental people making good politically. They

forget that Japan is homogeneous, with a common speech, culture, and history. Then it inherited an imperial house "descended from the gods." The traditional loyalty to the Mikado held things together until the Japanese had gained experience in working representative institutions. Only lately has the franchise been broadened from four million voters to fourteen millions. In India, on the other hand, there is no venerable dynasty to shelter the infant state. The people will have to create their government out of hand and in the open. With only one man in six literate and one in sixty literate in English, is it safe to count on general obedience to the authority of a National Parliament sitting at Delhi? The Indian Moderates believe that but for the British "steel frame" holding discordant elements together, they would fall apart, go to fighting with one another, or be devoured piecemeal by the stronger native states.

I was shocked by the levity with which some Nationalists contemplated the possible recurrence of civil strife. "Oh, no doubt," they would say airily, "rivers of blood will flow, but anything, *anything* rather than this foreign yoke!"

For fifteen miles to the southwest of Delhi the traveler sees the remains of cities, palaces, tombs, and mosques dating from the early centuries of Mohammedan rule. These beautiful edifices have been bat-

tered and ruined in the course of the fighting which ebbed and flowed about them. Returning to the capital one sees rising the immense and splendid Parliament Buildings of Imperial India. Thirty thousand men are rearing them, and it is said that $125,000,000 of the people's money will be laid out on them. If they are to remain a source of inspiration for generations, like the public buildings of England, which has had nearly three centuries of domestic tranquillity, who will begrudge their cost? But what if all this beauty were destined to be smashed to pieces a few years hence in some bootless civil war springing from a premature experiment in self-government?

Thanks to the *pax britannica,* there are at least a hundred millions of people in India who could not live under the old pre-British conditions. Widespread civil disorder would cause them to die like flies. An overpopulated country cannot afford to take political risks any more than an overloaded boat can afford to take a chance on rough water.

During the war a group of daring English political thinkers led by Mr. Lionel Curtis, who were trying to convert the British Empire into a partnership, studied the case of India and suggested a plan which came to be known as "dyarchy." It formed the basis for the Montagu-Chelmsford report of 1918, which

in turn resulted in the Reforms Act of 1919 under which India has been governed for eight years.

The reforms contemplate home rule as the goal but propose to arrive at this goal by successive steps. The Delhi Government is made more accessible to criticism and responsive to public opinion by the creation of an elected Legislative Assembly, to which all measures must be submitted, although the Government of India is not bound by its vote. In the provinces dyarchy is realized by sharing the functions of government, leaving some in the hands of the governor and his helpers, while turning over others to ministers responsible to elective councils representing the Indian people. By expanding the powers of these councils and contracting those of the governors, it should be possible to approach self-government in the degree that the British Parliament gains confidence in the political capacity of the Indian people.

Among the subjects handed over to Indian control are local government, elementary education, public libraries, public health, agriculture, coöperatives, forests, liquor regulation, endowments, and registration. Reserved to the British officials are such matters as police, courts, jails, prisons, taxation, finance, factory legislation, and industrial welfare.

Unhappily the reforms have not worked as intended. They were well conceived, but in steering his

proposals through Parliament Mr. Montagu had to make grave concessions. Then it was left to the Government of India to frame regulations for their working. The officials proceeded to lay down regulations which whittled away much of the power granted to the Indians. Gradually the Indian Moderates who served as ministers for the provincial councils came to realize that the governor had the kernel while they had the shell. Hence those who are for "working the councils for all they are worth" are losing ground, while the Swarajists, who wish to follow a policy of obstruction until such vital matters as law and order and finance are handed over to Indian control, will grow stronger unless, when in 1929 the political constitution of India comes again before Parliament, amendments are made to meet their aspirations.

Eminent Indian British recommend pacifying the Nationalists by granting the provinces responsible government. The British would still control the Government of India, and Delhi would manage foreign affairs, relations with the native states, defense, irrigation, railways, posts and telegraphs, currency, public debts, arms, shipping, commerce, opium cultivation, emigration and immigration. Even with full provincial autonomy India would still be a long way from *Swaraj*.

For a country so huge and diverse, the unitary state is unthinkable. What is coming is a "United States of

India" or an "Indian Union" like the South African Union.[2] Nor will the existing nine provinces make up the future federal system. To give reasonable play to regional peculiarities and interests they will have to be broken up into perhaps two score of states. Then of the 731 native states, comprising more than a fifth of the people of India, most will eventually disappear, but certainly half a score or more will become commonwealths of the Indian Union.

This emerging nation will probably be realized piecemeal. Too much moved to think accurately, both British official and Indian Nationalist misconceive what is most likely to happen. Both imagine a dramatic moment, the embarkation of the last boat-load of English! The Briton foresees them leaving with the grim remark: "Have it your own way, then. Wish you joy of your *Swaraj!*" knowing that already the Pathans are pouring down from the hills, the Afghans streaming through Khyber Pass, the Ghurkas descending from Nepal, upon a rich and defenseless India, while the princes of the native states seize key positions in their vicinity. On the other hand, the Nationalist pictures the withdrawal of the British as the removal of an incubus. He sees myriads of spies

[2] Do not dismiss this prophecy as fantastic. In my "Russia in Upheaval," 1918, (ch. xv) I predicted an eventual "United States of Russia." On January 1, 1923, The Russian Soviet Republic became "The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

and informers losing their jobs, while hosts of released political prisoners are greeted ecstatically by a people rejoicing in their new-found freedom.

Now, barring a successful Indian revolution at some moment of Britain's extremity, *there will never be a last boat-load of British.* The cork helmets will not leave Delhi until some of the provinces have forgotten what a British official looks like. Even after the reins of power are handed over at Delhi, great numbers of British will be kept on as invaluable experts to serve the new Government. Finally, there will be a British governor-general with his staff, such as Canada has, to serve as symbol of the unity of the British-Indian Commonwealth of Free Nations.

Chapter VII

SOCIOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN INDIA[1]

ENTERING India after ten weeks among the negroes of West and South Africa, whose distinctness from us is so much more than a matter of color, I was impressed by the likeness of the Indians to us in all but color. Often I said to myself: "Why, these are just Europeans! But what has made them pigmented? Can it be Nature's response to the Indian sun?"

The Parsees of Bombay are Zoroastrians who fled from Persia twelve centuries ago. I asked them:

"When you revisit Persia do you observe any difference in hue between yourselves and your former compatriots?"

"Yes, we are darker."

"Do you attribute that to your ancestors having intermarried with the dark peoples of India, or to the cumulative effects of the Indian sun?"

"It must be the latter, for our ancestors have been very careful never to marry their children outside the Parsee community."

[1] From "Das Jahrbuch für Soziologie," 1927.

Watching devotees at Benares bathing in the sacred Ganges, I was struck by the variety of shades to be seen. Some could pass for creole white, while other bathers were as dark as pure negroes. These variations in hue are not associated with other marks of race, but they vary with the occupation. The darkest were boatmen, coolies, cultivators. They and their ancestors have always worked in the sun. The lighter are of the merchant or scholar caste, who live indoors. In general the Brahmans—priests and professional men from time immemorial—have lighter skins. It would seem as if prolonged exposure to the fierce Indian sun stimulates the deposit of a protective pigment not only in the exposed skin but all over the body; and that this pigmentation is transmitted to offspring. Several English remarked to me that the bronzing a British army officer acquires after years of service in India does not leave him no matter how long he afterward lives in England. They think that if English settled in India permanently, rearing their children there, in a few generations the difference in hue between their stock and the home English would be very marked.

When you come upon a very light tint in an Indian he will usually prove to be from Kashmir, which is a mile above sea level and in the extreme northernmost part of India, where the sun does not burn. Again you

find fair complexions, even ruddy cheeks, the more you ascend into the hill country northwest of India, whence all the invasions have come. An Indian scientific man assured me that at birth the children of *pandit* families of Kashmir origin are very light; but gradually they become dark. Moreover, the longer such a family has been settled down on the plains of India, the darker its members will be.

In view of all this there is ground for regarding the dominant or "Aryan" element in India as *a section of the white race which has developed a pigmented skin.*

Marriage

In the United States out of a thousand females of all ages 473 are married; in India, 642. India has 35 per cent. more of its females married than we Americans have, although there is not a people in all western or central Europe so married as the Americans. The proportion of females married is 50 per cent. greater than in England. This showing is partly due to the fact that in India marriage is more nearly universal than with us. In the words of Wattal, an Indian sociologist, "Everybody marries, fit or unfit, and becomes a parent at the earliest possible age permitted by nature." . . . "For a Hindu, marriage is a sacra-

ment which must be performed regardless of the fitness of the parties to make it a success."

In part also it is due to the custom of marrying daughters at a very early age. The marriage of girls before they have reached womanhood is the prevailing custom among the Hindus, who constitute 70 per cent. of the whole population. Says Wattal, "A Hindu maiden unmarried at puberty is a source of social obloquy to her family and of damnation to her ancestors." Among the Mohammedans and other religious communities the girl is married at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

The average age of marriage in Bengal is about twelve and one half years for girls and under twenty for men. In Gwalior one boy out of twenty-three between five and ten years of age and one girl in nine in that age group is married. The State of Baroda twenty years ago enacted an Infant Marriages Prevention Act, which sets twelve years as the minimum for girls and sixteen for boys. Exceptions are granted in special cases, however, and on behalf of one religious sect, accustomed to hold periodical mass marriages, the legal limit has been lowered to six years for girls and eight years for boys. Even so, the convictions for violation of this law run above 4000 per annum.

It must not be supposed that these early marriages are consummated at once. Generally marital relations

do not begin until the child wife attains puberty. Nevertheless, this pairing of young people before Nature is ready is a senseless custom and one unknown in Vedic India. It is supposed to have grown out of the plight of the Hindus in the centuries (twelfth to sixteenth) when increasingly the Mohammedans were invading India. Under his law the Mohammedan soldier had a right to force any unmarried female of the conquered into his harem, but he might not molest a wife. Hence, it was prudent to convert girls into wives before they drew the attention of the Mohammedan.

There is much evidence in India of bodily weakness and want of stamina on the part of healthy persons. The Indian navvy can by no means equal the performance of the Chinese, let alone the white navvy. Often three or four men are employed in doing what we would consider one man's work. In their growing years Mohammedan children have been found to be taller and heavier, year for year, than the Hindu children, although both are of the same racial stock. The average weight of Hindu infants at birth appears to be decidedly less than we consider normal. Although it has never been the subject of investigation, many facts suggest that making a girl a wife and mother three or four years before her organism has reached its climax of development has disastrous effects upon her and her offspring.

Surely it would seem to be of fundamental importance that the strain of reproduction should be delayed until the female body had reached its full development and become prepared for this great crisis. Yet irrational custom dictates that sex intercourse and child-bearing shall be deliberately imposed upon girls at a period when it is obvious that their bodies are not yet capable of enduring it with safety.

One result of this pernicious custom is early aging of the wife. The woman who is a great-grandmother in her early forties will be as much age-stricken as our women in their sixties. Again, the first child born to an immature girl of fourteen to sixteen years of age is smaller, skinnier, and less charged with vitality than if the mother had been allowed to mature before meeting the strain of pregnancy. Not only this, but the mother's own physical development is arrested, while her children born subsequently do not come into the world with the vital endowment they would have had if she had been allowed to come to full maturity before mating.

A third result is that the custom quite deprives the young people of freedom of choice. There can be no wooing, no courtship or romance, if little girls are to be married at the age of ten to thirteen years. So pairing is entirely at the will of the parents. Personal attraction plays no part in it and even fitness is little

considered. The social position of the other family is the controlling consideration. An official in a native state told me with bitterness how his parents had married him in his early youth to the last of four generations of only daughters. They have no children, for his wife is probably barren. This prospect did not weigh at all with his parents.

Prohibition of the Remarriage of the Widow

The proportion of widowers in the Indian population is about the same as with us, but that of widows is extraordinarily large, being 17 per cent. of the total number of females, against only 9 per cent. in western Europe. Moreover, in western Europe only 7 per cent. of the widows are less than forty years old, while in India 28 per cent. are below this age and 1.3 per cent. (more than a third of a million) are under fifteen years of age, *i. e.*, little girls.

The great number of widows is due chiefly to the deep-seated religious prejudice against the remarriage of widows. Generally the higher castes forbid it altogether and even the Indian Mohammedans share the prejudice to some extent. The injustice of allowing the bereaved husband to remarry but not the bereaved wife is obvious. It seems, indeed, as if Hinduism is sublimely indifferent to how much hardship it

loads upon the female sex. A natural effect of denying all legitimate sex expression to the young wife so unlucky as to have lost her husband by death is a considerable resort to looseness and prostitution on the part of these unfortunates.

Hardest of all is the lot of the girl wives who are widowed even before their marriage has been consummated. They are expected to cut their hair, dress in sad colors, and become a servant in the husband's family. Hindu orthodoxy requires them to go through life as if they had no natural cravings for a mate or a child of their own.

A number of societies have been active in encouraging the remarriage of widows, while the Arya-Samaj and other reforming Hindu sects are attempting to do away with the antiquated restriction. The movement is, however, confined to the more educated and advanced element and has so far produced no visible effect upon the statistics.

Indeed, it is a question whether the prohibition of widow remarriage is not extending its sway. The custom is cardinal in Hindu orthodoxy and is in consequence one of the first to be adopted by an ambitious community attempting to lift itself in the social scale. In the words of an Indian authority, Mr. Mukerjea of Baroda: "All such [reforming] efforts are and will be powerless so long as authoritative Hindu

opinion continues to regard the prohibition of widow remarriage as a badge of respectability. Among the lower Hindu castes, the socially affluent sections are discountenancing the practice of widow remarriage as actively as any Brahman or Vania."

The Joint Patriarchal Family

A Parsee merchant in Portuguese East Africa explained to me the joint family to which he belonged. It has its seat in Surat, India. It is composed of the families of seven brothers and comprises more than forty persons. All eat together, but each married pair have their own apartment in the large ancestral house. All the brothers yield up their earnings to the oldest brother, who is the Head. If any member of the family needs something special—a suit of clothes, a typewriter, dental services—he applies to the Head. The Head looks after everything and runs the house. There is practically no complaint that the Head is unjust. My informant, instead of remitting his profits to his wife, remits them to the Head, who will provide for the needs of the wife and children.

The director of education at Jeypur lives in a household of five fraternal families—thirty persons in all. They dwell in one house, eat at one table, and are cared for by one staff of servants. He gives his

monthly 650 rupees to the father and all the other brothers do the same. Thus all the incomes form a single fund. When the father dies, the eldest brother will take the rôle of making decisions and adjusting the requests of the various members of the household. From time to time the family has to divide, but sometimes it will embrace fifty to sixty souls before it splits. The director loves this way of living. All are for each and each is for all. It is a mutual insurance association —a buffer between the individual and misfortune. If one is sick or out of work, he and his will not come to want. If one couple has six children and another two, the children will be equally well cared for and educated. If a bolt of silk is bought in the bazaar, each woman gets a gown from it. If sweets are bought, the children share alike. The Head sees to everything and rarely is his decision protested.

Critics charge the want of accuracy, efficiency, and initiative in the typical Indian to his prolonged subjection to the authority of father or elder brother. No one in the family has much responsibility save the Head, and not even he has it during his plastic years. In the joint family one may be a minor all his life; for your elder brother is as much entitled to your obedience when you are fifty as when you are fifteen. This cuts at the root of self-reliance. One reared in a joint family craves detailed instructions, shrinks from

working out a policy for himself. This may be why Indians, groups as well as individuals, usually, it is said, manage their affairs badly.

Nor is the joint family system favorable to public spirit. The kin group is so big, strong, and resourceful that one feels slight need of neighbors, the local community, or even the state.

The Position of Women

My Jain interpreter in Jeypur, a native state, has a daughter seven years old. All her grandparents beseech him, "Don't educate her or she will turn out badly and be left a widow." For they cherish a superstition that the husbands of wives who can read do not live long. However, being rather progressive, he will have her tutored and marry her at thirteen or fourteen years. In Jeypur the education of girls is quite neglected. The typical girl is married between her seventh and tenth years, and once she is married it would be against custom for her to go to school. Moreover, it is generally held that the wife who can read and write will neglect her household duties.

The natural inferiority of the female sex is taken for granted by all. Girls are considered hardly worth educating; indeed, it is believed that education spoils them for wifehood. The spirit of both Islam and Brah-

manism is unsympathetic with the education of the female sex. The growing school opportunities for Indian girls and women are due to the influence of western standards and ideals upon a small but influential male element. That the education of the female is unnecessary, unorthodox, and dangerous is still the standpoint of the overwhelming majority. Then, too, the orthodox scheme of life for women presents formidable obstacles to education. The customs of *pardah* and early marriage hold girls out of school or oblige them to quit school before they have made any lasting gains. The orthodox attitude toward women in public position adds to the difficulty of recruiting women teachers for girls.

In Baroda in the age-group fifteen to twenty the proportion of males to females who can read and write is three and one half to one for Hindus, four and one half to one among the Mohammedans, two to one among the Jains, one and one half to one among the Christians, and one to one among the Parsees.

In Mysore the literacy of the sexes is closely correlated with religion. Among Jews, Brahmos, and Parsees there is scarcely any difference in the literacy of the sexes. Next come the Indian Christians and the Sikhs. A long way below the Sikhs come the Buddhists, below these come the Jains and Mussulmans, and a long way below these come the Hindus.

The intellectual gifts and the elevation of soul displayed by many of the young women who, in spite of all obstacles and handicaps, have pressed on and obtained a higher education indicate that the women of India will play an important rôle in her future advancement.

Caste

Out of 217 millions of the Hindu faith 6 per cent. are Brahmans, the highest caste, and a fourth are pariahs or "untouchables," quite below the caste hierarchy. Strictly speaking, what counts is the sub-caste, *i. e.,* that group of families into whom you can marry, from whom you can take water and food.

How restricted this group may be appears from what a Naga Brahman in Baroda said to me:

"All told there are only 15,000 Naga Brahmans. They are in seven sub-divisions, each having a priest group and a non-priest group. One marries only within such a group. Sometimes even the members of this group in one town are not free to marry members in another town. Such narrow range of choice leads to cousin marriages, which may result in physical degeneration, although intellectually this is one of the finest groups in India."

There are two religious reform movements in Hinduism which repudiate caste. The Brahmo-Samaj, although its adherents number less than 7000, has a great influence among the enlightened. The Arya-Samaj has nearly half a million adherents and is growing rapidly.

Besides religious reform, there are several other factors undermining caste:

1. The practice of eating at hotels and restaurants and traveling on trains.

2. The breaking of old occupational lines in modern industry, which, moreover, requires men of all castes and races to work side by side.

3. Spreading realization of the hardship and injustice of many caste regulations.

4. The necessity of citizens coöperating politically without regard to caste.

5. The growth of Indian Nationalism.

6. The necessity of bettering the lot of the depressed classes so that they will cease to oppose Indian home rule from fear of finding themselves under the heel of the Brahmans.

Mr. Gandhi's "Non-coöperation" movement saps the consciousness of caste. The rise of political parties, as a necessary consequence of the participation of Indians in politics, has the same tendency. As a high

Indian political leader said to me, "Caste simply won't go with representative government." Among students and the educated, especially among those who have studied overseas, caste is dead. "In his heart," remarked a high English official, "nobody nowadays is afraid of breaking caste. His only concern is, 'Is anybody taking notice?' "

A missionary in Mysore remarked that when he came out fifty years ago no Brahman would take tea with the missionaries. When such tea drinking began there was a great outcry. Now the castes do not expel even members who have lived abroad.

In Baroda the socially exalted, headed by the prime minister, pay no attention to the ban on the castes eating together and their example is spreading downwards.

In Bengal the caste structure is badly shattered. For fifty years the government schools have paid no attention to the caste of their pupils—all sit side by side. When a school is found which makes the children of the untouchables sit on the veranda, the inspectors threaten to withdraw the grant unless the children are given equal facilities. Caste is rather weak in northern India, where the Mohammedans abound. They naturally have no use for caste. The citadel of caste is South India, where, owing to longer Hindu political control, orthodox Hindu sentiment has been able to develop

a completeness of social differentiation hardly to be matched in other parts of the country.

In the South India State of Mysore a Brahman geologist, a Cambridge M.S., after showing me about for an afternoon said: "I'd like to have you come with me to dine. But my parents would hold up their hands in horror if I brought to the table one not of our caste." In the city of Mysore a fine-looking Brahman told off to show me about in a state automobile declined when I invited him to lunch with me at the state guest house.

"It would be breaking caste," he said.

"Just what would that imply?" I asked.

"Should I eat with you, I would be expelled from my caste. None of the families I now associate with would call upon my family, or receive us, or marry their children with mine. We should find no fellowship at all save among the excommunicated."

On the whole, while the ban on interdining is crumbling, the rule of non-intermarriage between castes is not much relaxed. Perhaps it will stand as having the indorsement of the new science of eugenics!

There is a strong movement among castes to claim a higher status. With this of necessity goes a sharpening of class-consciousness accompanied by a feeling of caste patriotism on the one hand, and, on the other, by intense caste jealousy and antagonism.

Even defenders of castes can find no justification for the treatment of the untouchables. These contaminate at a distance, some at twenty-four feet, some at forty-eight feet, the lowest at sixty-six feet. They are scavengers, garbage collectors, sweepers. Only they handle dead bodies, animal or human. Their impurity seems to have arisen in ancient times from the function of removing night soil from the house, which requires a defilement of one's hands. The untouchables are without schooling, religion, or rights. They are not admitted to the temples, may not draw water at the village well, and in some parts are barred from the public highways built at the common expense. Lately they are coming to a consciousness of their wrongs and sometimes gather in bands and march down forbidden roads. Mr. Gandhi, the voice of the conscience of enlightened India, regards untouchability as no part of true Hinduism, but as a diseased growth which should be cut out. He says, "England has nothing blacker than our own treatment of our weaker brethren. We are not worthy of self-government until we redeem the untouchables."

It is obvious that there can be no common civic consciousness, no trust in a man of another caste to represent you in council or legislature, until caste barriers have been broken down.

Education

Able to write a letter and read the reply thereto are 8 per cent. of the Indian population over five years of age. Of the males a seventh above this age are literate; of the females a fiftieth. The fact that literacy is seven times as rife among one sex as among the other reveals the Indian estimate of feminine mentality.

The dominant races of India are inferior to none in intellectual capacity, and many of their young people show an intense eagerness to appropriate western culture. There are at least a dozen genuine universities in India on western lines, besides certain colleges. Excellent as is the work they are doing, there is increasing dissatisfaction with the status of higher education. The trouble is that universities patterned on Oxford and Cambridge are not well suited to conditions in India. India is far behind England in economic development, with the result that her arts colleges are turning out more graduates than can find suitable employment. On the other hand, in all India there is not a good engineering college or agricultural college.

The original purpose in creating higher institutions of learning in British India was to provide the alien

rulers of the country with an adequate supply of educated clerks and subordinates. It is very difficult to transform universities so conceived into institutions which really meet the needs of developing India. The great independent university which the Hindus have built up at Benares differs from the government universities in making a place for mining engineering, industrial chemistry, religious education, and public religious exercises.

In connection with the Nationalist movement a number of "national" colleges, quite independent of the Government, were established 1919-21, but they meet with hard sledding because their graduates are not eligible for the government services, have no entrée into the professions, are constantly under police surveillance, and those who employ them become suspect to the police.

The Tragedy of the Indian Elite

The time-hallowed social organization of India is backward, hidebound, and inimical to personal growth and happiness. The system is little concerned with justice. It is an accomplice of men in holding the female sex in subjection. It miserably bungles the mating of the young. It binds needless restraints upon in-

nocent human conduct and shows scant consideration for the freedom and happiness of the individual. Its hampering net of useless regulations is unfavorable to the formation of strong and self-reliant characters.

Of course, it was not devised to promote unhappiness; but it embodies ancient half-primitive ideas which we know to be erroneous and was shaped with reference to conditions which long since passed away. It sounds self-conceited for a westerner to say it, but I am unable to put my finger upon one feature of Indian social organization (not Indian culture) and say, "Here is something we of the West would do well to adopt." On the other hand, I could put my finger on scores of features in the social organization of the Danes or the New Zealanders with the remark, "India might well adopt this."

But, backward as is the religious and social system of India, it does not follow that all the sons and daughters of India must partake of this backwardness. The superior racial elements in India are undoubtedly equal in capacity to any race in the world. Thanks to the opportunities afforded by the universities and by residence and study abroad, tens of thousands of select Indians have appropriated the best elements of western culture without giving up the more precious elements of Indian culture. Hence, among the Indians

who have profited by the West you find personalities as high and commanding as are being produced anywhere.

It should now be clear why the élite of India—save the few high placed in the Government—find themselves in a tragic situation. They are conscious of being the peers of any in respect to intellectual and moral development. They know themselves to be in no way inferior to the British sent out to rule India. Yet the attitude of Britain toward Indian home rule aspirations is shaped with reference to the general backwardness of Indian social organization rather than with reference to the abilities and merits of the western-educated Indian élite. No wonder many of them become dejected or malcontent when they look across to Japan and see the Japanese élite furnishing statesmen, diplomats, generals, and admirals. In India these are provided from an alien race, and in all important matters of government the final decision is always with the strangers.

Chapter VIII

GETTING AT SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL SITUATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES[1]

IN 1910 I went out to China for six months of travel in the Flowery Kingdom and with the intention of preparing magazine articles on the anti-opium campaign, education, mission work, women, and industrial development. I traveled ten thousand miles in and about China and on my return wrote "The Changing Chinese," which is generally considered by the Chinese themselves to be a fair interpretation of their life at that time. Since then I have visited South America, Russia, and Mexico, and in each case a book has resulted. It takes some temerity to write a book after one six months' visit to a country, and only the soundness of the method of investigation can justify it.

At a dinner party given to me in Shanghai the evening after my arrival I was warned: "Now don't go and write a book, as so many visitors do after their first visit. If you do you are sure to get it all wrong. Don't write until you have lived here at least five

[1] Read before the American Sociological Society at its meeting in December, 1922.

years." Inasmuch as a professor is hardly at liberty to quit his job for five years, this was a polite way of discouraging me from writing a book at all.

As I had then no intention of attempting a book about China, I gave assurance that I would not rush into print with the impressions the traveler gathers from visiting the show places and viewing the superficial aspects of a life the motivation of which he does not in the least understand. The practised writer may describe acceptably the odd, picturesque, and colorful in Chinese manners, customs, rites, and processions without in the least divining the intention and thought behind them. Naturally it is the old resident in China who, bit by bit, arrives at the ideas behind these visible forms.

In the end I *did* write a book and this is how it came about. I had nothing to do but go about, gaze, wonder, reflect, and then consult some foreign consul, educator, missionary, physician, merchant, Chinese official, or scholar as to what lay back of it all. Gradually I perceived that the élite of these carried in their stores of experience everything that I wanted to know about the Chinese. The essence distilled from their recollections would be nearer the truth than anything one man could arrive at from his own observation and experience, for these observers had lived in diverse parts, moved in different orbits, approached Oriental life from dis-

tinct standpoints, and explored the minds of different groups of Chinese. So I saw the possibility of a better book than any man could write on the basis of his own limited observations, provided I were skilful enough to extract from these canny "old-timers" their garnered wisdom.

It was, then, as I saw it, a problem of scientific interviewing; so I began quite systematically to question intelligent people on the matters they were likely to know most about. I would inquire of the philosophical trader as to the reliability of Chinese business men, graft, "squeeze," and gambling. From the surgeon I would learn how the Chinese react to lesions, infections, and major operations. The educator I sounded for his estimate of the natural ability of the Chinese, of the handicap imposed by their idiographic language, of the value of their traditional education in the classics. From the consul I sought light on Chinese law, government, diplomacy, and the ways of officials. To the old missionary as the one best acquainted with motive I resorted for interpretation of the religion, morality, and family life of the Chinese.

I found that how much I could extract from a wise "old China hand" depended greatly on the way I framed my questions. If I asked, "Are spouses picked by parents as devoted as spouses who choose each other?" I got less than if I asked, "Does the Chinaman

show affection when he visits his sick wife in the hospital?" "How much suicide is there among young Chinese wives?" brought me more light than asking, "Is there much unhappiness among Chinese brides?" So I learned to ask quite concrete questions: "What do the Chinese do in this case?—under these circumstances?" In Bolivia I found that the natives' want of persistence could be brought out by the question, "Are there many private residences or public monuments in this town which have been started but never finished?"

Realizing that underlying character becomes visible in crisis situations, I have formed the habit of inquiring as to how the people I am studying behave in disaster or epidemic, under danger, in defeat, or after a stroke of luck. I appreciated that this method of quizzing was getting into the filing cases of memory when the interviewed would hesitate and say in response to my question: "Let me think that over a while. No one ever asked me that question before. I'll have to review my recollections."

My experience shows that by interviewing you can come much closer to the truth than by any amount of reading. In the face-to-face relation, hosts of significant facts have been given me which would never get into print. Editors and scholars tell me things they would not dare set their names to. Only rarely has any one attempted to mislead me. I fancy the interviewed

feels it would be a shame to deceive an inquirer who has come so far. The sociologist, after he has gone about a bit in a country and has talked with a number of intelligent men, perceives quickly enough when one is trying to "stuff" him. When I have a "hunch" that the man I am talking with is trying to put over on me an *ex parte* view, I say nothing, but I take no more notes and do not prolong the interview.

Of course, it is the *admissions* of the interviewed that are most precious. When I asked Miliukoff, "Of what value are these noble landowners to Russian agriculture?" and received the reply, "None whatever," the answer was worth infinitely more, coming from him, than coming from a Bolshevik. I chortle under my breath as one who stumbles upon a nugget when a Mexican archbishop admits to me that his church can't supply elementary education on the necessary scale; when an American smelter man in Mexico confesses, "All these rights bestowed upon labor by the constitution don't worry us. We can still make plenty of money with labor costing but seventy cents a day; just give us political stability"; or when a Chungking business man who had been sneering at the missionaries admits presently that unlike the business men the missionaries stay on in Chungking right through the sweltering summer *"because they are so interested in their work."* In Russia the heads of soviets gave me many an insight into

their troubles with the ground-down and enslaved factory workers. From what they told me I was able to guess how "the dictatorship of the proletariat" would work out.

I learned never to conclude an interview with an administrator without asking, "What's bothering you? What are your problems?" If the superintendent of schools, the prison warden, the soviet president, the bishop, or the mill owner will tell you frankly what his problems are, you can judge at what stage of development his institution has arrived. When the mill owner reveals that he is worrying how to prevent his workers carrying off his raw material under their blouses or how to get them to show up regularly every day, you realize how different are his troubles from those of the mill owner back home. When the head of the mission college unpacks his heart on the subject of student walkouts and strikes, you obtain a precious insight into the psychology of young China. When in Mexico the head of the Girls' State Industrial School discloses her anxiety over the effect of the priests' warning parents not to let their daughters go out to evening classes, you have a new view of the perennial conflict in Mexico between church and state.

In general I have not gained direct access to the minds of the humble. I could not explore the ideas of coolies or peons, because the task would consume too

much time. One of them could give you only his personal experience, for he has no outlook on the general situation of his class. As for getting at their thoughts and feelings, wariness has become a second nature to them and they will reveal themselves only to those who have won their confidence gradually. This is why old and wise missionaries are the best interpreters of what is on the native's mind, for they come into contact with the spiritual side of the people.

Once, however, I came to grips with Russian muzhiks and obtained a view of what was on the minds of ninety million villagers. In the great cities every one to whom I had brought a letter of introduction assured me in the autumn of 1917 that the revolution had veered too far to the left and that the people of intelligence were going to bring it back to the right lines. But an evening spent with a schoolmaster and several peasants in the parlor of the German blacksmith of the village of Balonda opened my eyes to the fact that the revolution had not yet made good on the *economic* side and that the real revolution was yet to come.

It came.

None have given me better interviews than the scholars. In Japan American-trained economists and sociologists analyzed Japanese society and interpreted Japanese social phenomena with a candor and an

objectivity which left nothing to be desired. In South America, likewise, the professors of the social sciences supplied me with a wealth of meaningful facts without being in the least concerned how they might affect my opinion of their country.

Provided he shows himself sympathetic, the inquiring foreigner is a privileged character. Every one concedes that in quest of information he has the right to talk with any one. He can pass abruptly from one end to the other of the social scale as no native could. In Mexico I dined with the archbishop and for three hours breathed a purely ecclesiastical atmosphere. The next day I was conferring in the town hall with nine radical leaders some of whom, no doubt, were trying to kill that same archbishop a few years earlier. Neither group had any contact with the other; but I could ask the labor leaders, "The archbishop claims so and so. How about it?" In the afternoon I spent an hour with the papal legate and in the evening two hours with Protestant missionaries; and I can challenge the missionaries with assertions as to Protestant missions made by the legate. In this privilege of irresponsibility, of passing rapidly from one social circle to another without discrediting yourself, lies one of the great charms of sociological inquiry in the foreign country.

The method of interview is, of course, both stimulated and corrected by the method of direct observa-

tion. With the two together you get as far in a month as either alone would get you in three months. Thus Don Raphael in Mexico City tells me that there were no more contented or happy laboring people in the world than the twelve thousand souls on his huge sugar plantation in Morelos before the revolution. Next week I am in Morelos—he wouldn't dare set foot there—and am able to check up on his statements. I note how spring water for the hacienda buildings has been piped right through the village but no faucet put in for them, so that one hundred and twelve families have no drinking-water save from the irrigation ditch. I observe how peons had been thrust out of their habitations in order that a spur track to the sugar mill might be laid over the ruins of their huts, and had been obliged to rebuild on a near-by lava out-crop. When a Chinese minister of education praises to me the provincial college, I visit it and try German conversation on the hulking Chinese youth professing German, and French on the professor of French, greatly to their distress.

I attach the greatest importance to the keeping of full notes. When I have had a long talk with an important man I sit down on the first park seat or step into the first coffee-house and write the interview down in full. In the matter of description, I sit down before the scene and ask myself, "What really is this in front of

me?" When I come to write the book I lift such sections out of my notes without altering a word. Thus I avoid *the insensible drift from reality* which is likely to occur after one is back in one's study.

It is not for me to pass upon the worth of the results I have had from my method of social research. I am certain, however, that as a sociologist I have been wonderfully benefited by it. Nothing could have so effectually cleared my mind of racial, national, and age prejudice. In every country I have met individuals as disinterested and noble as are found anywhere in the world. Our finest Americans are not better than the finest Japanese, and the most avaricious Chilean *hacendado* or Russian landowner or Osaka cotton mill owner is not a particle worse than certain of my grasping fellow-citizens. In the old classical Chinese scholars I found an interest in the lot of the fellow-man, an abhorrence of war, a faith in moral forces, and a serene long-time view which made me blush for most of our own molders of opinion.

Chapter IX

GLEANINGS OF A ROVING SOCIOLOGIST

WHEN I met my first Chinese viceroy I was a bit self-conscious and stiff. A viceroy is "instead of a king," and an Iowa farm youth does not become accustomed to meeting kings. Presently, however, I recalled the confession of General Grant in his "Memoirs" of feeling stage fright when engaging in his first battle, until it occurred to him that the opposing commander was probably just as nervous about Grant as Grant was about him. Thereafter he was cool when closing with the enemy. I reflected that the viceroy no doubt felt as worried as to the impression he was making on me as I felt concerning the impression I was making on him. From that time I ceased to feel any shyness before the exalted, and I noticed that the more self-confident and easy I became, the more the other man exerted himself to leave a good impression.

In meeting men physical bigness is a great asset. Among the Chinese officials I found it helped to sit up erect with an inscrutable expression and leave it to their imagination to tell them how important I was.

Well did I know that it would invest me with an importance I do not possess.

Invariably in my innumerable interviews in foreign parts I have met with courtesy and sympathy. Their prominent people get so fed up with strangers who want to sell them something, or seek a concession, or propose to uplift them, that when the traveler comes along who craves nothing but information, they will put themselves out to give him what he wants. After all, there is a subtle flattery in a stranger coming thousands of miles from his home to learn about the marriage customs, family government, status of women, or state of education in Ecuador or Shansi or Transcaspia or Mysore.

Odd as they may seem, never do I allow myself to reflect, "What queer people these are!" *That* psychological approach is fatal. It insures failure in advance, for the interviewed will subtly sense your spiritual remoteness and shut up like a clam. On sitting down to talk with a Buddhist priest, a Chinese mandarin, a negro chief or an Indian *guru,* I say to myself: "This man is just as human and normal as I am. Behind his queer clothes and manners there is a regular fellow and I am going to find that fellow."

I was in Amritsar, India, for a few hours and I bore a card of introduction from a Sikh leader in Lahore to a Sikh advocate in Amritsar. I presented myself

at the advocate's office in the crowded bazaar, but he was not in—might be out at the native club. I had myself driven out there. He was not there either—might drift in by and by. After my inquiries and letting some of the young Indian gentlemen see my card of introduction, a group of them got together—several of them English university men, one a member of the Legislative Assembly—and for two hours we debated what were the logical next steps for India. My questions showed them I had gotten beyond the vestibule of the subject; I let it come out that I had talked with Mahatma Gandhi, the Viceroy, the Governor, and many Indian leaders. My note-scribbling demonstrated that I valued their opinions. The result was one of the freest and liveliest interchanges of thought I had in India; yet we were all complete strangers.

Lunching with Lord Lytton, the Governor-General of Bengal, I perceived from his face that here was a man of rare idealism and refinement of feeling. To lift myself out of the common ruck of luncheon guests, after a few minutes I quite deliberately ventured a question more psychological in character and deeper-going than he was accustomed to hear from a guest. I could watch him register at once the reflection, "This is no mere tourist; perhaps it is worth my while to make him understand." Soon we were talking as man to man and he dropped much of the guarded reserve

which a high administrator in the East is accustomed to maintain.

There is a magic in *touch*. Once in Mexico, when I was talking with a big labor leader, some of my questions as to the spread of Socialist ideas among the Mexican working class gave him the false impression that I was a hostile inquirer. He began to shut up like a clam. I drew my chair nearer and went on with my questions, at times lightly tapping his elbow or shoulder as if from sheer earnestness. It was wonderful to see how this thawed him out; in a couple of minutes the interrupted current of sympathy began to flow again.

Politeness is everywhere taken for granted; it is the *margin* of your politeness over the conventional forms that wins you good-will. Long ago I read that Count Witte, the famous finance minister of Old Russia, used to offer his caller a cigar, then strike a match and have it ready for him to light it by. I adopted this technique and it worked like a charm. Offering a man your open cigar (or cigarette) case at the beginning of an interview is a commonplace courtesy; but to have a lighted match ready by the time he has it between his lips is an unexpected attention which always produces a slight flush of surprise and grateful appreciation. This initial good-will has much to do with the success of an interview.

Probing society in far lands has its spice of adventure. One delicious December day in Chile—December is their June—I board a train in Santiago furnished with a pass over all the state railways. . . . Now at home, even in the scandalous old days when every one who was *anybody* could have a railroad pass for the asking, I scorned passes. With the virtue of a Cato I paid my fare and preserved my freedom to denounce the anti-social practices of our railway kings ("kings"?—it is now full twenty years since their crowns rolled in the dust!). . . . Well, this first experience riding on a pass opens my eyes to a charm which it is well that I didn't know about earlier. *With a pass you don't have to fix your destination in advance.*

Rolling down the lovely Central Valley of Chile we come late in the forenoon to San Luis. I like the looks of the town; I have two letters of introduction to residents, and I can resume my journey on the 2:30 train; so I yield to the impulse to drop off. I look up one of my men, a doctor. "Out; will be back at 1:30." I find the other man—a mill official—and gain the information I seek. Then, there being nothing to do for a while, I make for the high school (*liceo*), as is my wont, although I know not a soul connected with it. As I saunter about the cloister—all Chilean *liceos* are housed in former convents—

noon strikes and the boys swarm out of their classroom. Stares. Some of them must have borne word of the tall stranger stalking about the arcades, for presently a messenger brings me an invitation from the principal to come to his office. I find an affable blond of thirty-five, German in name but speaking only Spanish. Naturally, I quiz him as to the state of education in the provinces. Rather perfunctorily he cites some government statistics that I had already met with in Santiago. "Ah," I protest, "but the president of your National Education Association tells me that those figures are eye-wash and do not square with the reality." At once he kindles as if he had said to himself, "Oho! this chap is for getting under the surface! Why not let him see the true inwardness of things?" So he opens up and gives me an inside view of running a public high school in a country where the Church fights every form of education she cannot control, and the big landowners oppose public schools on the ground that "we don't want the children of our *inquilinos* disturbed in their minds."

Lunch time comes when there is still much to discuss, so he invites me to lunch with him at his home. He has the first-floor apartment in a house built about a roomy *patio,* and the table has been spread among the potted palms in a corner of the court. There are

his wife, his wife's mother, and two pretty little girls of six and eight.

Now from much use of my eyes I have arrived at a generalization which I deem perfectly safe. It is this: *You never irritate a mother by paying admiring attention to her children.* So I play with the little girls, toss them up in the air, take one on either knee and make much of them. Imagine how the mother beams! Another observation: *You do not infuriate a hostess by being nice to her mother.* So at table, instead of talking "shop" with the head of the house as the ladies expect me to do, I make particular efforts to draw the mother-in-law into the conversation. Long ago, poor thing, she had resigned herself to being ignored; but she brightens up, becomes even arch and witty when the stranger seeks her opinions about social and domestic matters in Chile, actually jots them down. I even attempt jokes in my bad Spanish. In fact, we are all gay together like old friends. Thanks to my tactics, I make a hit with the wife's mother, this makes a hit with the wife, and my success with the ladies makes still more of a hit with the principal.

After a merry and sociable hour I take my leave with great *éclat*. Everybody beseeches me to come again, the little girls give me a fond hug, and the

principal offers to send me a copy of the book he is writing. As I bend my steps to my next interview I glow with the realization that, without a scrap of paper to vouch for me, I have scored a success.

The spoiledest creatures I have ever met are the white temple cows which haunt the bazaars of an Indian city. They go about with an air of tolerant disdain for the bipeds that revere them. Often in passing I was tempted to stroke their sleek heads, and they bore my caress with condescension. The pious Hindu never interferes with anything the holy hussy takes it into her head to do. If she lies down and chews her cud in the middle of a twelve-foot street, the traffic divides and flows around her Ladyship as best it can. If she takes a fancy to help herself to the stock of a petty green grocer, the poor wight looks on in anguish as his livelihood disappears into her maw, but he never presumes to menace her with a stick.

If only you might see the self-assurance, the *impressement,* in the bearing of these pampered beasts! In the middle of the evening I meet one of them marching along the pavement of Chowringhee Road, which passes the finest hotels, clubs, shops, and theaters in Calcutta. Was she nervous, *distrait*—like an escaped stock-yards steer who by chance finds himself on Michigan Boulevard? Not she. You might say she was

sauntering, hands in pockets. As I regard her there comes into my mind a story I heard from General O. in Washington.

To give him a relief from the western front, he was ordered to visit and report upon the great English homes thrown open to convalescent allied officers. Stopping at the magnificent country house of the Duke of B., he fell into conversation with the butler, a very intelligent man. "How do the British officers here react to his Grace's hospitality?" asked the general.

"Oh, they're most appreciative of it and use the house very well."

"How about the American officers?"

"To tell the truth, sir, they rather act as if they owned the place."

"And what is the attitude of the Australian officers?"

"Well, sir, they act as if they didn't give a damn *who* owned the place."

My strolling cow had the air of these Australian officers.

In Mysore the devout maintain an asylum for superannuated cattle—a kind of old-ladies' home. When cattle no longer fit for the yoke are offered for sale, in order to save them from the butchers who cater to Moslem or European beef-eaters, the Brahmans buy them up and turn them into a huge fenced natural

pasture. Here they graze and idle until they die of old age.

On the weekly trans-Siberian express which rolled into Harbin on a bitter January day in 1918 after rumbling the length of the Russian Empire, there were seven American passengers. Among them were a doctor who had served with the Red Cross mission to Rumania, a Y man with twenty-five years' experience in Petrograd, a buyer for the Duke tobacco interests, and three crack railway men who had been sent on the American mission to show the Russians how to get more service out of their railways.

We were ravenous. The first division point out of Petrograd the local Bolsheviki had taken off our well-stocked restaurant car and for fifteen and one half days we had been living on the country. At every station restaurant a mob of passengers stormed the food counter, and by the time I could recall and utter the Russian words for "hamburg steak" or "roast quail" or "pork chops," every one of those dishes had disappeared. Then there was nothing left but to go down the line of peasant women in the snow outside and consider myself lucky if I returned to my compartment with a roast fowl and a slab of gray bread rather than a chunk of boiled beefheart and a hunk of black bread.

When I went to Russia I used eye-glasses only for

reading. After my return my family asked why I always put on my eye-glasses when I sat down to eat. Why indeed? The action had become automatic. Reflection revealed that the habit had developed when I was stopping at one of the best hotels in Petrograd. On rising I would ring for the servant.

"Any cereal this morning, Vasili?"

"Niet."

"Any eggs?"

"Niet."

"Any meat?"

"Niet."

"Any milk?"

"Niet."

"Well, bring me what there is."

Presently I sit before a thimbleful of black coffee and a large plate bearing a butterless bit of black bread about two inches square. At this point I fell into the habit of putting on my eye-glasses *because they magnified the breakfast.*

Here and there in traversing Siberia we had crossed rich wheat belts where decent bread was to be had, and I had learned to stock up at such places. So when on the railway platform at Harbin I found snowy rolls offered for sale, I went on a buyer's spree. I had my overcoat pockets and arms full of rolls before I woke to the fact that we were out of starving Russia

and there was now no object in stocking up with food.

That afternoon the seven hungry Americans boarded a through train for Japan and the next morning we filed into the first well-appointed diner we had entered for months. Sugar! Milk! Butter! Hooray! There was an orange, a cereal, a bit of fish, bacon with eggs, griddle-cakes, then a finger-bowl. It was delicious; but still we were hollow. One of the railway experts electrified us by singing out, "Boys, let's have an encore." A unanimous whoop of joy. Every man paid his yen, sat tight, and ordered a second breakfast just like the first.

Amazement reigned among the staff of the diner. Never in the history of Japanese railroading had a passenger eaten two breakfasts. The mask of Oriental politeness was off and the waiters grinned broadly as they brought us our dishes. Like wildfire it ran through the long train that seven crazy Americans were eating a second breakfast right on top of the first, and soon the aisle was so packed with watching passengers that the waiters could hardly get our food to us. A buzz of comment arose, and wherever our glances fell we met smiles of amusement and sympathy.

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."

Queer things you come upon in the way of religion. On the great main road leading to Szechuan my cara-

van fell in with a peddler from Shantung. When we came to a wayside shrine by the cliff under some jutting stone which had the reputation of being a joss, he would buy a few sweet-smelling joss sticks for the priest to burn. We asked him what his idea was.

"Well, sirs, it's this way. I am a poor man a long way from home and need good fortune. I burn a little incense before the josses I pass in the hope that my attentions may make them disposed to throw a little luck my way."

In a Taoist temple one who wishes to divine what the future holds in store for him pays the fee and this is what happens. The divining priest sits holding a joint of bamboo as big as your arm containing hundreds of tiny wands each bearing a number. He shakes it to and fro in such a way that presently one of the wands begins to work out past the others. After it has emerged a few inches he withdraws it, reads the number, and turns to a big cabinet of numbered pigeonholes filled with sheets of paper bearing different prophecies. From the pigeonhole corresponding to the number on the wand he takes the paper and hands it to the client. It is assumed that the finger of fate is behind the wand which responds to the shaking by working out from among the rest.

When holy visitors from the banks of the Ganges tell us how materialistic we are in comparison with

the "spiritual" peoples of India, I smile. In the Great Temple in Madura, India, there are, besides 500 menials, 322 Brahmans who exercise priestly functions, *i. e.,* offer sacrifices. One visit showed me it has nothing in common with our churches and cathedrals, although it resembles, no doubt, the great temples of pagan antiquity, *e. g.,* that of Diana at Ephesus. It is not a place of public worship but a place for the propitiatory offering of private petitions. Instead of a congregation in a great hall collectively adoring one God, there is a labyrinth of rooms, halls, and courts holding the images of various gods. Worried persons wishing to have a petition offered present themselves, specify what god they put their faith in, and state how much they are prepared to lay out on the sacrifice. They are told where to come and when and what sacrificial animal to bring. At the appointed time and place they find themselves in the hands of a priest of Vishnu or Shiva or Durga or Ganesh or Hanuman as the case may be. He offers their sacrifice in correct professional style with approved postures, gestures, and intonings. The party pay their fee and go away believing that they have had their money's worth. It is like a big sanitarium where people with different ailments present themselves in the consulting-rooms of different specialists. It is childish to suppose that the clients of the temple are edified, moved, and uplifted in the way

that worshipers often are in a Christian church, a Hebrew synagogue, or Mohammedan mosque.

In South America one comes upon bizarre expressions of religious faith. Twice I found a wonder-working shrine in a church, and the wall was lined with large frames in which hang gilded replicas of the parts of the body healed at this shrine. You see wax models of feet, legs, hands, arms, eyes, ears, heart, etc. In the cemetery of La Paz on All Souls' day one can witness "the mercy of God" being made merchandise of. I chanced to be near a woman and a priest standing before a compartment in the wall in which the bodies of the recent dead are housed. The priest was rattling off a *paternoster,* making an unintelligible sound like the hum of bees. When he had finished, the woman said, *"Otra"* (another). He repeated the prayer and again she said *"Otra."* After the third recitation, satisfied that the repose of her husband's soul was insured for another year, she inquired, *"Cuanto vale?"* (How much?) He named a sum equivalent to twenty-five cents, she paid him, and he went on to serve some other sorrower in the same way.

Chapter X

WHAT THE FILMS ARE DOING TO YOUNG AMERICA[1]

THE last fifteen years or so conscienceless film producers and negligent unthinking parents have allowed to be committed against American town children one of the worst crimes on record. With the exception of an occasional sex film from which children are formally and ostentatiously barred as a clever publicity dodge to make the adult anticipate something spicy, children have been allowed to see everything which adults have had access to. Instead of establishing children's film-theaters or setting aside certain days or afternoons for the entertainment of children with films suited to them, we have failed to segregate children or recognize that their needs are essentially different from those of adults. Realizing that nearly all films are seen by children, our conscientious boards of review and of censorship have striven to delete situations and passages likely to have a bad effect on children. Whereupon the motion-picture producers, ac-

[1] Substance of an address delivered on February 11, 1926, before the National Motion Picture Conference at Chicago.

tuated by the most unscrupulous greed, have turned to the adult public and said in effect:

"Are you going to stand for boards of censors mutilating your films to adapt them to juvenile minds?"

The devastation has not been wrought solely by plays which could fairly be pronounced indecent or *risqué*. The problem goes much deeper than that of the salacious film. Many of the masterpieces of literature—"Adam Bede," "Romola," "The Manxman," "Trilby," "Tess," "The Scarlet Letter," "Life in Bohemia," "Camille," "Anna Karenina"—are obviously not suitable for youngsters. As novels children will rarely read them, for they are not interested in love affairs or sins of the flesh. What holds them—boys at least—are stories of adventure with animals, Indians, pirates, crooks, detectives. The yellow-back dime novels of my boyhood catered to this appetite, and as I look back upon them they were pretty innocent stuff. They put fool notions into our heads and stirred up some boys to run away; but they did not make us into precocious grown-ups.

Now, when "Tess" or "The Manxman" is screened it acquires an appeal to the juvenile. With its exotic backgrounds and thrilling situations, the boy or girl who found something else to do when confronted with five hundred pages of cold type follows it breathlessly. Never before have we had to confront the

question whether the great tragedies of passion are fit for juveniles, because as literature they reached only those minds ripe for them. But filmed they attract the very young, and we are obliged to ask ourselves, "Are these treasures of literature the right thing for boys and girls to be occupied with?"

Most emphatically I should say "No." No sensible parent wants his Billy or Molly to become familiar with the behavior of grown-ups under the power of the master passion until Nature gives intimation that she is ready. He has already about all he can do to keep his young folks straight in the trying interval between their becoming physiologically men and women and their marriage. The last thing the thoughtful parent desires is to see this period prolonged and the strain increased. One reason for the hearty response to the juvenile recreation program is that it sets up a strong competitor with the sex interest. The founders of the outdoor corps—the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls—discovered another means of keeping down sex tension. But in comes the film and ravels out what has been knit up with such care. Week after week the children sit watching on the screen handsome heroes and lovely girls and lustful leering villains; the man and the woman enamored and alone in a boat, in a studio, on a tropical island, in a forest glade, on a balcony, in a shipwreck. Kids of ten or

twelve years watch scenes of fascination, pursuit, love-making, embracing, kissing, passionate abandon—which the jaded, commonplace adult, somewhat disappointed with self or spouse or the drabness and adventurelessness of his daily existence, finds stirring and refreshing, but which are to children what fire is to tow.

We do not have to speculate as to the results of letting juveniles watch the dramas addressed to adults. We have only to look about us. Has there not been for eight or ten years a rising tide of doubt, alarm, and protest over the tendencies among the new generation? It is, of course, no new thing for some of the young to take the bit in their teeth and for wiseacres to shake their heads over the ways of youth. But what we are up against is something far more extreme than anything which confronted our parents or our grandparents. Never have so many in their late teens or early twenties rejected the guidance of their elders and turned their backs on the time-honored reserves. For the first time a younger generation have rejected the sex mores supported by the older generation and worked out easy sex mores of their own which they collectively maintain. Never before have so many parents been puzzled and dismayed by the immodesty of their children. It is not from the farms that the complaint comes. There the children have had little

access to the high-voltage film plays which have become a part of the regular mental ration of the boys and girls in the towns.

Analyzing what in our young people shocks their elders, we find it not a want of manliness or womanliness. The fact is, in honesty and truth-telling our sons and daughters could often give us points. Nothing do they abhor more than sham and hypocrisy. Their speech is terribly frank, and some optimists delude themselves into believing that our youth do not really go farther than their parents did, but that they are franker about their doings than were their parents at the same age. Again, our young people are nice of manner. Never have they been freer from the uncouth. Even the shoveler's son or daughter has absorbed from the magic screen something of the fine bearing of the movie star. Nor are our young people lazy or irresponsible. They keep their word and "deliver the goods" quite as faithfully as their parents did at the same age. Just what in the youngsters startles their elders is their knowingness about sex and their contempt for the reserves which have grown up about sex.

What I am going to assert is not based primarily upon impressions of the young people of my town or my university. It rests partly on observation and reading, but chiefly upon hundreds of talks with parents,

high school teachers, preachers, Y.M.C.A. directors, college deans, fraternity brothers, social workers, and field investigators. The conclusion forced upon me is that more of the young people who were town children sixteen years ago or less are sex-wise, sex-excited, and sex-absorbed than of any generation of which we have knowledge. Thanks to their premature exposure to stimulating films, their sex instincts were stirred into life years sooner than used to be the case with boys and girls from good homes, and as a result in many the "love chase" has come to be the master interest in life.

Evidence of the sway of the erotic is afforded by the constant drift of woman's fashionable dress toward disclosure, by the rising tide of pornographic literature on the news-stands, by the increase in the number of sex-saturated stories in respectable periodicals, by the provocative dances which began to come in about a dozen years ago, by the incessant drift toward the free-and-easy at the bathing beaches. The working out of this sex-excitement to its natural results has been facilitated by the automobile, which, besides providing a moving cabinet of seclusion, enables a couple in an hour to roll quite away from the observation of those whose opinions they care for.

This is not the place to cite evidence and I am not going to cite any. I shall confine myself to remarking that whenever any one calls attention to the tendencies

I have noted, up jumps a certain type of preacher or athletic coach or Y secretary or sorority chaperon and declares publicly that the young people of to-day are the cleanest minded, most sex innocent ever known and that we are misled by their startling frankness of speech. This springing to their defense is, I fear, not prompted by regard for the facts but by the wish to curry favor with the young people. Nor should the public be misled by the silence of many who are in a position to know current tendencies. They will not speak out or print what they testify to in private, because they cannot afford to become unpopular with the young people whom they are trying to influence.

Among some of the groups of handsome Polynesians on the islets in the South Seas, the young people give themselves up freely to love. In time they marry and settle down into fairly loyal wives and husbands and rear their families. This unrestraint between youths of the opposite sex is one secret of the charm which these affectionate Polynesians have always had for visitors from the puritanical parts of the world. The Cytherean atmosphere of these verdant isles has inspired idyllic pen-pictures of a care-free life untormented with repressed desires, which fascinate the victim of frosty climates and strict morals. One wonders, if we keep on letting the children see all the films, whether the ancient restraints will not go entirely by

the board and the freedom of the South Seas take their place.

I am far from being able to predict what harm would result to society if our young people enjoyed such freedom. Our alarms may be as groundless as those of the orthodox Moslems with respect to women unveiling their faces. But it would seem to me that such erotic absorption as prevails among the people of the South Seas who can gain their living by catching fish and gathering bread-fruit, might be very dangerous in a populous society like ours where strenuous devotion to the job or to preparation for the job is a *sine qua non* of success. One can hardly imagine much great achievement in a society whose young people gave themselves up to the pursuit of love.

If we wish to become the most erotic people in the civilized world we have only to continue to yield up our children to the demands of the motion-picture industry. But if we recoil from that destiny it will be necessary to do a number of things. We should draw a sharp line between films to be shown to children and films to be shown only to persons above sixteen years of age. The former should be censored on different principles from the latter and far more severely. Every community should have the right to bar from exhibition to its children films however meritorious which it does not wish its juveniles to see. In order to make the

exclusion of juveniles effective it might be well to require the youth sixteen to eighteen to procure and produce on demand at the door of the film theater a card certifying to his age. Theater managers must be made liable to fine for every child they admit to films for adults only.

Chapter XI

SOCIALIZING INFLUENCES IN CHILD LIFE[1]

BY "socialize," a term which has come into use in the last thirty years, we sociologists mean the making one fit to live in association with his fellows. Practically it is about the same as converting one into a "good" person, *i.e.*, developing in him the recognized social virtues, such as honesty, truthfulness, good-will, fair play, loyalty, helpfulness, etc. From the viewpoint of the sociologist these traits are precious not simply because they are difficult and in themselves admirable, but because they are indispensable to the strength, success, and vitality of the group. In our thoughtful moments we cannot help praising and propagating these traits, because it is obvious that without them we should all come to grief together.

Habit-Fixation as a Basis of Good Character

Most parents wish to rear their children into "good" men and women, but from ignorance of human

[1] Address delivered before the Eastern Ohio Teachers' Association, Cambridge, Ohio, October 28, 1927.

psychology the methods which have prevailed have generally been crude and ineffective. In the past there has been great reliance upon the establishment of good habits as a means of socialization. The idea is expressed in the adage "Train up the child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it." Habit-fixation was the master aim of the early types of education—the Jewish, Persian, Armenian, Hindu, and Mohammedan education. But the habit-bound person is the last type we should wish to produce in our schools. It is in fact those who have never gone to school who should be the most habit-bound. American educators agree in aspiring to produce from our schools the free self-adjusting individual. No other type could prosper in a society so dynamic and changing as ours is.

Moreover, the truth-telling, the loyalty, the honesty that is merely a matter of habit is not likely to survive crisis nor will it stand up when temptation crops up in new and unfamiliar forms. For example, my State is a great dairy state and aims to protect its dairy products from fraudulent substitutes. Now certain milk condenseries were extracting the cream from milk, replacing it with cocoanut oil, which lacks vitamines, and selling the compound as "condensed milk."

In order to protect the public and to relieve our dairy men from unfair competition a bill was intro-

duced into the Wisconsin legislature prohibiting the marketing of "filled milk" as "milk." Immediately a big eastern advertising agency, which had the manufacturers of condensed milk as clients, sent "boiler-plate matter" to all our newspapers denouncing the bill and setting up specious justification for selling creamless milk fattened with cocoanut oil as "milk." The newspaper was given to understand that unless this matter appeared as its own editorial opinion, the advertising agency would not only withdraw advertisements of condensed milk but all advertising which this agency had the placing of. Several papers consented to prostitute thus their editorial columns. No doubt many of the newspaper owners who lent themselves to the betrayal of their readers had the common habits of honesty. They would not pick a pocket, "swipe" a fountain pen, or keep a found purse when they knew the owner. But these habits could not avail to keep them straight under this new onslaught. To hold them steady in the face of temptation in new guise, something more than habit was needed.

Obedience as a Basis of Good Character

Another time-honored policy is to bring up a person to do as he is told. Obviously one will not be a trouble giver if from childhood he has been trained to

automatic unquestioning obedience. Rear the 90 per cent., the common people, to obey their social superiors and then educate the noble, priestly and official classes to give the right orders. Thus you will get a tranquil and stable society. The Orient has long followed this plan. When I was traveling in China before the days of the republic every proclamation closed with the words "Hear, tremble and obey." I have visited Catholic missions in the Far East where the ruling aim was to train the natives to ready and implicit obedience to what the fathers told them. Whether the natives really understood what they were doing or had the spirit of the Gospels in their hearts gave the missionaries very little concern. In any case they would get to Heaven.

In a society like ours it is vain to rear right conduct upon a corner-stone of obedience. In the first place, ours is not the patriarchal family and every generation we are farther away from that type. Never were the young less inclined to obey parental commands they see no sense in. Never were parents less disposed to "lay down the law" to their adolescent children. In the second place, if, on emerging from the family, one came into the care of a maternal church which would tell him just what he must do or avoid, obedience might be enough, but that is precisely the type of religion which is losing ground in this coun-

try. More and more, religion has to be understood and believed in by the laity. "Do as you are bid" would not go far in our churches to-day. In the third place, if the graduate of the patriarchal family were taken in hand by a paternal state, the habit of obedience might be a great asset. We know what magic for Germans used to lie in the word *"Verboten."* But even in Germany the paternal state is crumbling, and proposals are now made that about a million prohibitions be wiped off the statute-books, leaving many things now forbidden to the individual conscience and to public opinion.

Fear of God as a Basis for Good Character

A third hoary method is to socialize by means of Heaven and Hell. The idea is that every youth shall be drilled to believe that he will have to account to God for what he does and if he has done wrong he will be punished either in this life or in the next. This principle has been immensely popular partly because most people know nothing of human psychology and imagine the principle will work, and partly because there are 150,000 clergymen in this country who are bent on "selling" this idea to the public. They want the boys and girls to be reared in religious beliefs and so it is natural for them to warn parents that a boy

without religious beliefs is likely to become a bad man. No doubt they are quite honest in insisting there is no possible basis for integrity other than the fear of God.

Now the Gospel religion is my religion and I am altogether friendly to the endeavor to make that type of religion prevail. But as a man of science I must pronounce the conviction that social character can rest on nothing but religion one of the hugest delusions in the world to-day. The queer thing is that in the practical affairs of life we all know well that there is no such 100 per cent. correlation between religious belief and high character. Hundreds of inquiries are made of me as to whether this or that young man is trustworthy, but never am I asked as to whether he believes there will be a Day of Judgment. Bonding companies which assume large financial risks with respect to men in fiduciary posts acquaint themselves in the minutest way with the applicant's habits and the impression he makes, but I have never known them to inquire as to whether he believes in Hell.

If the fear of God is the only foundation of integrity and chivalry, then the peoples which are quite untouched by modern doubt would most generally exhibit these virtues; while deceit and meanness would advance step by step with the immense decline in the authority of religious sanctions which has occurred in the last two generations. We know, however, that

there has been no conspicuous and universal decay in moral character. In spots and circles it exists but it is correlated with many factors other than loss of religion. In fact, criminals are found to be possessed of more orthodox religious beliefs than the ordinary population. We of to-day appear to be quite as ready as were our grandfathers to do our duty as we see it, although, to be sure, our conception of it is not the same as theirs. We dance, play cards, read novels, visit the playhouse, and play golf on Sunday—all of which would have horrified our strait-laced grandfathers. On the other hand, our standard is higher on the social side. The merchant, lawyer, or doctor of a century ago would do things which his successor will not stand for.

The religious elements of greatest value in socializing youthful character are not the Divine penal system—with its commandments, guilt, punishment, and reward, not the prospect of the Day of Judgment, but the ideals which a noble religion holds up and its philosophy of the value of the various possible goals of human endeavor. Just here is where religion becomes a mainspring for what may be termed "the sacrificial life."

True Socialization

The socializing of the child can proceed quite easily without any belief basis. It is a natural outcome of

experience and activity in well-supervised groups. A child without a social setting—say the institution child—tends to be an egoist, although, to be sure, he may be trained into an anxious respect for the rights of others. Passing the formative years in group life of the right kind dissipates this naïve egoism. The one who is constantly with "pals" and comrades finds it impossible ever to forget "there are others." Adjustment to the rights and claims of one's fellows comes to be prompt, matter-of-course, a "second nature." So the forming of the "socius," the good comrade, goes on normally in the home, the school, the playground, the camp, and the club.

The school should be not only a place for learning, but as well a place for practice in social adjustment. Hence we want the pupils to maintain all sorts of wholesome group activities. We want them to organize and govern themselves.

Sports as a Socializer

On the playground, exercise and fun are by no means the main values. The boys play in teams and learn the virtues of the good sportsman. Supervised antagonistic team games are great socializers, because they call for quick unreflecting adjustment and coöperation, and demand self-control and command of temper. What a

strain on raw human nature it is always to play fair, not to crow or gloat when you win, not to whine or snarl when you lose! Verily, the good sportsman is half way to the Kingdom of Heaven. Yet religions, which have portrayed the Good Father, the Good Son, the Good Wife, the Good Judge, have never yet limned the Good Sportsman. All of them took shape before sports had come to be an important interest.

Scouting as a Socializer

In the Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls movements we see a most ingenious interweaving of moral ideals with the gratification of youth's instincts by means of woodcraft, nature lore, hunting, stalking, tracking, fire-building, signaling, watching outdoor life. The scout must learn to build a fire with two matches; to rescue a companion in the water; to handle canoe, boat, or horse; to find his way across country and through woods to a designated spot and back within a specified time; to track a companion by his footmarks; and to spy upon a constructively hostile camp without being discovered.

There is, of course, no necessary connection between scout ideals and outdoor life. Many a skilful hunter or backwoodsman is "yellow" clear through. Many a high-minded gentleman cannot build a fire or pitch a

tent. But the tremendous appeal of the scout activities and stunts "sells" to the boys the scout ideals. They accept the obligation to speak the truth, be courteous, and serve others because of their keen enjoyment of the things which scouts do. Than the scout program there could be no finer illustration of the shrewd application of psychology to the problem of socializing the boy.

The "Pattern" Leader as a Socializer

The boy is passionately fond of recognition, of scoring, of "striking thirteen," of being looked up to and admired. This is why boys from good homes so quickly go bad if they happen to run with a "tough" gang. There is hardly any mischief or cruelty the boy will not stoop to if it is the sort of thing which all his comrades admire. Now, to a large extent, the gang admires what its leader admires and does. The leader is the key-man, the pivot. This is why unguided association is as liable to be a curse as a blessing to boys. It is true that in any gang you learn to be loyal to your comrades, but toward all outsiders the gang may be ferocious and predatory. Boys, then, must have a responsible adult leader who wins and holds them by taking them into fairylands of fun, thrill, and sport

and at the same time is a pattern on which unconsciously they mold themselves.

Moral Inspiration from Biography

The child's adult friends may be wanting in variety of type. The child may never see them meeting the harder tests of life. So it is well to bring him into contact with the great souls of our race by setting him to study biography, especially autobiography. By this means he will learn how stalwart men have behaved when they met a trying situation. He will learn why they chose the right but difficult course and will see why it worked out not so badly for the hero as might have been expected. The lives selected will of course correspond to the boy's stage of development. Boys of ten to twelve will be captivated by explorers, pioneers, fighters, and revolutionists. Those twelve to fourteen should be ready to appreciate orators, statesmen, captains of industry, leaders of religious movements. Those fourteen to sixteen should be able to appreciate the heroes of thought—inventors, discoverers, reformers, founders of religion.

Moral precepts leave the child cold, because they are abstract. But when a character in whose life's story he has become absorbed faces a crisis and makes a decision for the right on a certain principle, that princi-

ple becomes vital, warm, and appealing; it may give that boy a lasting slant for the right. A fine ideal comes to be real and attractive when you see it in action molding a man's life.

Of course, it is only selected lives that we set before the child as patterns. We do not steer him up against the life of Jesse James, or Billy the Kid, or Devil Anse, or P. T. Barnum, or "Calamity Jane". Fortunately, most eminent figures whose personal history is intimately known had heroic traits, else none would have gone to the trouble of writing their biographies. We ought to set our boys to studying the life of Franklin, Lincoln, Robert E. Lee, Booker T. Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, David Livingstone. Historical characters such as Socrates, St. Francis, Robert Bruce, William the Silent, Henry of Navarre, John Howard, "Chinese" Gordon are full of reactions to life situations which can serve as patterns.

The Study of Society as a Socializer

It is easy for the child to imagine that the hampering rules and social conventions he is expected to conform to are just a burden that the oldsters are determined to strap upon the unresisting shoulders of the youngsters. They seem to him like the first saddle bound upon the unbacked colt—a sign and forerunner

of servitude. In such case he will buck just as the colt bucks. But suppose we set the lad to studying the social life of men—in short, give him an elementary course in sociology. From it he should learn that the rules of conduct are not arbitrary, but are derived from the inexorable requirements of situations and relations which social life continually presents. He would discover that the praised types of behavior—the virtues—are calculated to lift the life of men in association to the highest level of harmony and success; while the condemned types—the follies, vices, and crimes—are such as mar, spoil, or ruin the life of men in society.

Contemporary society could be pictured as a structure which has taken an immense time to reach its present stage. Great numbers are, knowingly or unknowingly, busy in weakening the mortises and tenons, unscrewing the nuts on the tie-bolts, sawing through the braces, digging out the mortar; and if the structure, nevertheless, slowly rises, it is only because the upbuilders are more numerous or zealous than the down-tearers. Then the boy, who by this time should have come to sympathize with the sustainers and upbuilders, should be made to see that he is free to side with the one group or the other; and if he sides with the upbuilders, he undertakes to lead an ordered, considerate, conscientious life; whereas if he joins himself

to the destroyers by making his own wishes his law, he leads an easy, something-for-nothing life at the expense of the heroes who labor to keep society from sagging and slumping to lower levels of peace, security, and confidence. The teacher could drive home how yellow must be the chap who gladly avails himself of whatever decency, safety, and trustworthiness are already here as result of the labors of nobler souls, and yet follows a line of conduct which makes these values less abundant rather than more abundant.

The Iron Logic of Sociology

The child is now ready for the Grand Clincher—the line of reasoning which extracts from the scientific examination of society its major contribution to character-building. It is a turn of logic so gripping and irresistible that no thoughtful lad can elude it unless his egotistic desires are very masterful and compelling. It is this: "How can you expect to have the benefit of the obedience of your fellows to the rules which are necessary to be observed if life in society is to prove a success, unless you are willing to obey these same rules when they come to bear on you?"

The youth who feels no force in this logic virtually takes the position that he is entitled to claim from his fellows a great deal more than he is willing to con-

cede to them—which implies that he is not at all on a level with them, but a superman entitled to exact more and yield less than anybody else. It is impossible for a normal boy who for several plastic years has been an acceptable mate or comrade in teams and clubs to make an assumption so monstrous. It runs directly counter to the impressions which his fellowship with other boys should have made upon him.

The Individual as Contributor to Public Opinion

It is not enough that we build a character with the will to do the right thing. We should go farther and train our child to judge conduct—his own as well as others'. It is necessary that he should be member of an attentive critical, onlooking public, which well understands on what grounds to praise conduct and on what grounds to condemn it. Every youth should be taught how to contribute his mite to an intelligent public opinion—to be a valuer of the deeds of others as well as a doer.

Here is just where the moral training of the present generation fell down. How many of our decent fellow-citizens are fools in their attitude toward conduct which is devastating so far as society is concerned but doesn't touch them personally! The attitude to-

ward crime has become so indulgent that our gravest social menace is the monstrous increase of crime. In our cities there are multitudes who wouldn't lift a finger against a fellow-man, yet have no condemnation for any trick or dodge by which the deadly hold-up man or hired killer can escape hanging. They reflect a phase of that individualistic philosophy which prevailed before the rise of sociology. We sociologists hope that by sternly driving home the ruin with which we are menaced from a sentimental and overtolerant attitude toward evildoers, we can get more iron into the souls of the rising generation.

Destroy Centers of Moral Contamination

It is all very well to win the children to play under the eye of competent play leaders, to organize them into groups supervised by teachers, scout masters, "big brothers," and leaders in boys' work. But we should not stop with this. We must destroy those pernicious activities and influences which counteract the wholesome agencies we set in motion. The saloon was one of these. It became obvious that in countless cases it was raveling the good out of youth about as fast as parents and teachers and clergymen could knit it into their souls. When the bulk of our people came to appreciate that fact, they rose up and destroyed the saloon. A

like hostility seems to be developing toward the gambling den and the house of prostitution. Ordinances excluding boys under eighteen from pool-rooms, billiard halls and bowling alleys are multiplying. The public dance hall is coming under regulation and inspection, while boys and girls are barred from attending save in the company of a parent. In twenty years the film has become a Titan among the molders of child soul, and we well know that in general the motion-picture business has no more concern for the influence of their pictures upon the character of boys and girls than you could hold on the point of a penknife. To feed our youngsters to this monster is about as kindly and thoughtful as to turn loose a bull in a school-house yard. However, the inertia and feebleness of the American public with respect to the film shows which our juveniles are permitted to attend are so utterly damnable that I cannot do justice to them here. I have characterized them elsewhere.

Of course we must take a crack at child labor—the kind that kills one's school chance—every time we get an opening. The parent who is using his child for immoral purposes should be sent to the stone-pile for "contributing to a child's delinquency." The peddlers of dirty pictures to school children should be hauled up. The "hang-outs" for youthful gangs of criminal tendencies should be closed. To multiply good agencies

while ignoring corrupting agencies is to act on the assumption that health is as catching as disease. It is to imagine that if you put enough sound apples into the barrel, you may leave the rotten apple undisturbed. A generation ago the favorite procedure was to suppress the bad amusement place or hang-out or activity. Later we saw that boy nature will not be denied and that you will not be rid of the mischievous until you supply in abundance the attractive and wholesome. Accordingly, the volume of means of recreation and fellowship provided on other than the commercial basis—provided by home, church, school, settlement, Y.M.C.A., neighborhood, or community—has rapidly grown and will grow. It is the surest means of beating corruptive influences.

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Chapter XII

HOW TO TEACH BOYS PARTICIPATING CITIZENSHIP[1]

THERE is an ancient delusion that you can make boys good by giving them excellent moral precepts; that some wise aphorism that you have told him or that he has read will change forever the tenor of a boy's conduct. The truth is that in the ordinary case general ideas, *unless they sum up the significance of the boy's recent experience,* have practically no effect upon his conduct. They do at times affect men's conduct, for men are more reflective and less impulsive than boys. Hence the notion that the precepts which influence men will have a like influence with boys.

When you tell a boy who is tempted to snatch for himself an unfair advantage "Honesty is the best policy," it will have no effect upon him. But if you bring it out at the moment when he is contemplating, either in his own life or in another's, the failure and disappointment to which crooked policies have led, the aphorism will light up and give meaning to his ex-

[1] Address before the fourth biennial conference of Boy Scout Executives, Hot Springs, Arkansas, September 25, 1926.

perience, so that he may carry away a lasting salutary impression. Let me illustrate with a bit of my own experience. I was riding about in Moscow with Mr. Charles R. Crane shortly after the heavy fighting in the second week of November, 1917, when the Communists wrested power from the *bourgeoisie*. As we reviewed the signs of street-fighting, the shattered windows, the battered cornices, the gaping holes in roofs, the gutted buildings, Mr. Crane remarked: "No, revolutions don't pay." I had often met with the idea before, but at this moment my mind was in a state to seize and profit by it. Hitting off aptly the lesson of what was under our eyes, it left a permanent impress on my social outlook.

The general truths, the rules or principles which a boy arrives at *via* his own experience, are real to him. He absorbs them into his private philosophy and tries to base his conduct upon them. Then, if our aim is to build citizenship in him, we should rely chiefly not on telling him significant truths or setting him to read noble and uplifting passages from the great patriotic orators but upon steering him into significant experiences. Not that I belittle the value of what he reads or what he hears in church or classroom, but that there must be experience to illuminate and vitalize it; to make it *mean* something to the boy.

The kind of experience which affords a foundation for building the character of "good citizen" is participation in organized active groups of boys of about his own age under inspiring adult leadership. Let us look at some of the elements of good citizenship which will naturally develop out of such experience.

1. *The value of team-work.* Let eighteen boys of eight years of age by themselves try to play a game of regular baseball. Impossible. They cannot coördinate their efforts. Let the same boys try it four years later. They may get through it, but only with much scolding and squabbling. Let the same boys play baseball four years later at the age of sixteen. Very likely they will exhibit smooth team play. What has happened? Why, out of the playing of ball they have learned the futility of uncoördinated individual efforts. A dramatic troupe learns the same lesson. So does a camp of Boy Scouts.

As yet we have made little use of team-work in our schools. Yet there is no necessity of study being as individualistic as it is. In a certain high school I know there is a course of study which sets the pupils to exploring the past. Yet they are not studying history in the conventional sense. They are building a book on the subject "How the Present Came to Be." So they reach back into the past for those elements which are

still alive and influential in the world to-day. Those things in the past which mean nothing in the life of to-day are dead and they ignore them.

Now one section of this class is to contribute to the book a chapter which will have the title "How Electricity Came to Play the Rôle It Does To-day." The section meets, chooses a leader, and divides up the investigative work. It is settled that Billy will find out and report on what the Greeks knew about electricity. Susie agrees to get the story of electricity in modern times down to Faraday. Frank undertakes to find out what Faraday contributed. Mollie will cover the stretch between Faraday and Edison. Sam will deal with Edison. Now in organizing and apportioning the tasks, still more in fitting together their respective contributions until they make a smooth and molded whole, they are learning the requirements of all team-work.

Boys who for years have met the requirements of team-work on playground and stage, in classroom and camp, will have no difficulty in understanding the necessity of organizing the community for fighting fires and epidemics and crooks, supplying water and light, regulating traffic, and disposing of garbage and sewage.

2. *Willing obedience to law.* Boys soon learn that it is impossible to do anything well together, or use

common property, without rules. They see the mix-up and bad blood that develop in case there are no rules respecting the use of playground apparatus or club games or lockers or library books. Boys are much more willing to obey rules the necessity of which they have come to see, and which they themselves have helped to make, than the same rules imposed by some one in authority. The pressure of the logic of yourself taking the very medicine you have been administering to others comes out in the story, told by Mr. George of the George Junior Republic, of Sneider, whose sense of former wrongdoing—revived by an "experience" meeting he had held with his Sunday-school class in the Lower East Side—prompted him to return to the Republic and give himself up.

A week or two after his election as President, he had committed a crime. The temptation was tremendous. There was practically no possibility of his being found out. Old habits momentarily reasserted themselves. After this act, the honor and respect which his fellow citizens paid him as their President became intolerable. He had partially succeeded in his new surroundings in quieting his conscience, when the experience meeting came and undid all his efforts. In concluding his story he said, "I knew as I couldn't never look dem kids in the face again till I had spit it out, same as I made them, an' come back an' took my medicine." After the expiration of his term in jail, Sneider so thoroughly regained the confidence of his fellow citizens as to be twice again elected President.

Or take the case of the boy who was elected to the presidency of the Republic by the unanimous vote of his boy fellow-citizens:

> The day after his inauguration he came to Mr. George in evident mental distress and said, "Daddy, some months ago, before anybody ever thought of my being good enough to be President, I stole something right here in the Republic. I've come to tell you about it and ask you what you think I ought to do."
>
> Instead of advising him, Mr. George asked him what he was going to do. A determined look came into the boy's face as he replied, "Daddy, I'm going to call the citizens together, tell them what I've done, resign my position, surrender myself to the police, and go to jail." Unflinchingly he faced this ordeal and went to jail. His crime could never have been found out. From the point of view of expediency there was no reason for his doing as he did.

A lad who has come to realize that rules are not arbitrary but are devices of the group to end a certain difficulty or abuse is not going to take a pride in flouting or disobeying the laws of the State. He has in him the makings of a law-and-order man. Moreover, he has learned in his club or team that he cannot get others to obey the rules *he* is interested in unless he shows willingness to obey rules which irk him but which *others* are interested in. From this he will infer that I cannot claim the right to use my personal judgment about the law which annoys me without conceding to

you the same right with respect to a law which annoys you. A. cannot ignore the game laws as needless without indulging B. in smuggling immigrants across our border if B. deems our immigration laws unfair, and indulging C. in bootlegging if C. considers the Volstead act an invasion of personal liberty. Any boy can see where this would land us.

3. *Submission to the verdict of the majority.* The "only" child, the boy who grows up without experience in a group of his kind, often has an excess of self-will which is incompatible with good citizenship. In illustration permit me to quote certain observations which I made in South America:

> An American cannot but be struck by the dearth of associations among the university students in Lima; no fraternities, no athletic teams, no social, literary, debating, press, dramatic, musical, athletic or scientific societies such as flourish among the youth in an American university. Most of the "student activities" which threaten to engulf scholarship here are unknown in Lima. Some of the young men of San Marcos had started a university paper, but few students would buy it although many would read a borrowed copy. It is pathetic to witness the disappointment of earnest young Peruvians educated in our universities when on returning home they find in the Lima student body no class feeling, no university spirit, no love of *alma mater,* no heart-warming reunions of alumni, and in general none of those forms of corporate life which loosen the hard soil of natural egoism and prepare it to admit later the spreading roots of such virtues as public spirit and good citizenship.

It was while probing a similar state of affairs among the students of the University of Arequipa that I laid bare the chief obstacle to association in the higher social class. I learned that these students fail in their endeavors at coöperation because individually they will not compromise. Again and again valuable organizations serving a real common purpose have been wrecked by the touchiness and self-will of the members. This in turn is due to an excess of personal pride, the heritage from the old aristocratic social order. The reigning upper-class ideals intensify the self feeling to such a point that it becomes a bar to organization and team-work.

Thus students interested in the same study will not form a society as our fellows do. They will meet two or three in a room to discuss the subject, but never organize. In Arequipa there is but one literary club. Others have been started but after a brief existence have expired, not from lack of interest but from jealousies and dissensions among the members. Not long ago this club announced an excursion on a certain day and promptly the *centro universitario,* a student club, announced an excursion of its own on the same day to the same place. Naturally the two parties met and there were high words followed by hostilities. The failure of these proud young men in the give-and-take necessary for coöperation drives home to an American the value of our democratic fraternalism in fostering that spirit of compromise in non-essentials which is indispensable to good team-work. Sociologically aristocracy is, in its later phase at least, a failure.

The students of Buenos Aires are nearly as individualistic as those of the Peruvian universities. Class spirit and college spirit are wanting and the students will not "dig up" for their various societies as ours will. There is little attention paid to athletics, owing to lack of organization rather than to lack of

interest. What is probably the root of the trouble came to light when my informant remarked that fellows who play some musical instrument are very shy about playing before others, "awfully sensitive to criticism." Here again crops up that ptomaine from decaying aristocracy, the exaggerated sense of personal dignity, which is such a hindrance to coöperation among South Americans.

Some years ago Secretary Taft said at Havana that in politics the peoples to the south of us are poor losers. Not only is this true but we have here one cause of their ready resort to revolution. Trouble will begin after an election for the same reason that student societies go to pieces on some trivial question—the losers have too much pride to submit to defeat. In the society they walk out, but in the State they start a revolt. I fancy the introduction of organized athletics by promoting the spirit of good sportsmanship might have a salutary effect on the politics of Spanish America.

Years ago ex-President Andrade of Venezuela told me something I shall never forget. He said:

I was in your country during the heated "free silver" Presidential campaign of 1896. As I observed the intense feelings developed I said to myself: "These Americans have always been pointing the finger of scorn at us South Americans for our revolutionary tendencies. Now they are going to experience the same thing themselves. Whichever party wins the election, the other side will take up arms." But when I opened my paper the morning after the election I saw the telegram of congratulation addressed by the defeated candidate Mr. Bryan to the successful candidate Mr. McKinley; and I was struck with its concluding sentence: "The

people have spoken to whose will we all must bow." As in a flash I perceived the secret of the political stability of the American people.

Can we doubt that the character basis of this stability was laid in tens of thousands of clubs and teams where the losers learned never to grouse and whine but to smile and say, "Congratulations. Maybe we'll have better luck next time."

4. *The value of order.* Would that every boy and girl might belong to a fair-sized society which regularly undertook to transact interesting business. There would be a chairman to say who may speak, put motions, take votes, and announce the results. The boy would learn that quiet must be observed, that one may not interrupt the speaker, that you've got to let the other fellow have his say, no matter how much it "riles" you. He would see why in debate personalities must be ruled out, why the speaker must be "recognized" by the chair, and address the chair, why debate must be allowed to continue until no one claims the floor or the members demand a vote. Scholars agree that the New England town meeting was a nursery of citizen virtues in our Colonial forefathers. Some believe that the practice of handling their own affairs in the various popular dissenting churches which sprang up in Great Britain after the Reformation is one great source of the aptitude for self-government

which the British common people show in high degree in comparison with other peoples no less intelligent.

5. *The sacredness of free speech.* Patience in listening to the utterer of sentiments you detest when your crowd have it in their power to choke him off is a rare and fine political virtue which certainly does not spring directly out of human nature. Nor do I believe that this virtue is inspired chiefly by the noble and eloquent pleas for free speech which have been voiced in the last century and a half. The soil it thrives in is certain experiences. The boy who knows what it is to be denied the floor, to be howled down or thrown out; who has had the protests of himself and his friends choked off by an unfair chairman, gets light on the justice and sacredness of free speech which he will never get from reading Milton's "Areopagitica."

Let me illustrate how morals spring out of experience from a story I heard in Detroit. A little Italian lad had a teacher who had been kind to him and of whom he was very fond. On his garden plot he cultivated a watermelon vine, and when it grew one of the finest of melons he confided to his teacher that he intended it for her and that on Friday it would be ripe to pick. On Friday morning he went to the patch and lo! some boy had stolen it in the night. He wept as he told his teacher of his loss, and amid sobs added:

"Gee, I never knew before how it hurts to have things swiped off you. I'll never swipe another thing as long as I live."

6. *Sacrifice.* In an organization sometimes one has to bear the brunt, "be the goat." The batter has to make a "sacrifice hit." The quarter-back has to let the half-back make the "grandstand" play. Members of the boys' dramatic troupe have to let players perhaps no better than they take the star rôles. In any body of coöperators it is impossible that the tasks of all should be equal all of the time. Usually it is possible to satisfy the demands of justice by "taking turns." "I had the hard, or dirty, or risky job last time; now it's your turn." But sometimes there is no chance for "turn about" and the boy accepts sacrifice as an obligation of comradeship. Now will not one who has had driven into his soul the lesson that *fellowship may involve sacrifice* be spiritually prepared for the summons to sacrifice which may come to the good citizen? His fellow-citizens are asleep as to some menace to the public health or safety or morals. For him to go about sounding the tocsin may cut deeply into his business or professional practice. A ring of crooked politicians is grafting on the people and is so well organized and intrenched that whoever goes up against it takes his life in his hands. His country is in peril and requires its young men to serve it in deadly places, perhaps to

perish literally in trenches or before machine-guns, while others no more deserving are assigned to safe posts at home. The lad who has well learned the lesson of loyalty to his group and his comrades will not be without a glimmering of why the summons to the supreme sacrifice may come.

Chapter XIII

THE MILITARY MIND[1]

THE problem of the relations among the nations has become so vast and many-sided that not a few minds are unable to form a balanced judgment. On the one hand we have the type that wants this nation to "set an example" by disarming without waiting for the action of other nations; on the other hand is the type that wants us to arm ourselves like a traveler in a tiger-haunted jungle.

Most excusable of all militarists is *the warped specialist*. There are, of course, plenty of graduates of West Point and Annapolis who are not in the least military-minded. But others, dedicated from their youth to "the service," become ultra-professional. A doctor exclaims, "What a beautiful tumor!"—so delighted to meet with the typical that he forgets what it means to his patient. So the military expert may become so professional that he regards warfare as more normal than peace, and the virtues of the civilian as chaff in comparison with the virtues of the soldier.

[1] From "The World Tomorrow," November, 1927.

Rapt in the problem of attaining perfect "security" for his country, he comes to look upon the rest of us as hardly entitled to pursue our private aims but as existing in order to furnish the nation with means for carrying out its designs. The professional comes to value the young man as the potential soldier, the maiden as the potential mother of soldiers, and those over military age as furnishers of the "sinews of war."

In general, however, what makes your militarist is not specialization but *the incapacity of a small-bore mind to think big problems through.* The question of the present and future relations of the organized peoples on a globe constantly shrinking from wonderful advances in means of communication is too huge and complex for the mediocre man. In self-defense he lets some one feature in international relations determine his whole thinking on the matter. The possessor of this "single-track mind" may make a great hit with thoughtless audiences, jingoist or pacifist, but his logic looks absurd when subjected to calm scrutiny.

"The way to secure peace," says the Briton Winston Churchill, "is to be so much stronger than your enemy that he will not dare attack you." Now if this prescription is good for England, it should be good for England's neighbors; but if they should all follow it, they would be engaged in the impossible enter-

prise of each trying to make itself stronger than any of the others!

The militarist takes great credit to himself for never asking one penny for offense; he is only pleading that his country "put itself in a posture of defense." And who but a "Communist" or a "traitor in the pay of Moscow" can object to his country being prepared to give a good account of itself if wantonly attacked? However, in the demands militarists all over the world are making upon their respective Governments, every man, every gun is for "defense," not one for aggression! But if all the armies and fleets are for defense, against whom are we arming? In each particular case the shouters for stronger defense assume that the military chiefs of other nations are lying when they profess to be concerned only with national defense. But if we suspect that other Governments are deceiving us as to the purpose of *their* preparations, how can we expect them to believe us when we protest that *our* drilling and arming have no other end in view than "defense"?

It is a great pity that the means provided for defense are much the same as those employed for aggression. Otherwise we could test the sincerity of our military men by observing which kind of thing they call for. If there were a kind of cannon that would go off only on home ground, or a type of military training

which would be useless away from the national soil, then the peace-loving nation could go as far as it liked in making itself impregnable without at the same time exciting the suspicions and fears of other nations. Coast defenses, of course, are not minatory, nor harbor mines, nor torpedo boats. No neighbor will be alarmed if we should ring our chief cities with anti-aircraft guns; or equip the citizens of our crowded centers with gas masks and drill them in the proper use thereof. However, such honestly defensive measures meet with the contempt of military men. They dismiss them as "old-womanish" and call loudly for weapons rather than shields. When the militarist shouts that this nation must be as ready to deal blows as to ward them off, what audience would not cheer him to the echo? But weapons are available for offense as well as for defense, so that every step you take on this path causes a sense of insecurity to grow up in other nations and the adoption of corresponding "defensive" measures on their part.

We have this testimony of Earl Grey, who should know if any one does:

> . . . The increase of armaments, that is intended in each nation to produce consciousness of strength and a sense of security, does not produce these effects. On the contrary, it produces a consciousness of the strength of other nations and a sense of fear.

> Fear begets suspicion and mistrust and evil imaginings of all sorts, till each government feels it would be criminal and a betrayal of its country not to take every precaution, while every government regards every precaution of every other government as evidence of hostile intent. . . . The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable.

There is no satisfying the true militarist, so at the very outset of his clamor you might as well laugh him down. For example, we have always supposed that the pre-war Germans were well "sold" as to the value of war. Yet their chief of staff, General von Bernhardi, in 1911 complained that the Germans had become "a peace-loving, an almost-too-peace-loving nation." One of our major-generals recently advocated semi-military training for American school girls in camps! Last November the President of the United States declared: "Our entire military and naval forces now represent a strength of about 550,000 men; altogether the largest which we have ever maintained in times of peace." Yet, commenting on this, the jingo weekly "Liberty" bewails "the amazing penurious attitude of the administration towards the army and navy."

The militarist considers universal compulsory military training of our young men in time of peace "the

most important lesson of the war." Now a few years of universal military training would give us ten million soldiers. What defensive need have we for such myriads? If a nation so un-get-at-able by land as ours shows itself apprehensive, what nation would dare reckon its need of soldiers less than that of the United States? So we should be leading the way to world-wide militarization in all nations, and for so doing would earn the hate Germany drew upon herself by incessantly "forcing the pace" of military and naval preparedness. So head-feeble are the militarists that never yet have I met with one who had given the slightest thought to the effect of our adoption of compulsory military training upon the "preparedness" policies of the rest of the world!

Significant is the latter-day policy of denying male students access to high schools and colleges unless they submit themselves to military training. So the seeker after knowledge has imposed upon him a requirement from which other young men are exempt. In many quarters it is sheer "sedition" to object to this queer annex to higher education.

The priests of Moloch will go to any length to gild and perfume their idol. Thus in "Harper's Magazine" for April, 1927, under the title "Gentlemen Prefer Wars," a Mr. Wylie insists that "over and above the grief and suffering in the Great War the nations, like

the individuals, were enjoying the best days of their history. . . . The fighting men of 1914-18 were happy. The chance to die for a high cause came like a deliverance." Then why did England resort to the draft? If fighting for a high cause makes men happy, then our forefathers blundered in founding the American Union. Let us junk the Constitution and soon the quarrels among forty-eight States will afford us ample opportunity "to die for a high cause."

Here is an English officer's description of what Wylie says the soldiers were "enjoying":

> Leprous earth, scattered with the swollen and blackening corpses of hundreds of young men. The appalling stench of rotting carrion, mingled with the smell of exploded lyddite and ammonal. Mud like porridge, trenches like shallow and sloping cracks in the porridge—porridge that stinks in the sun. Swarms of flies and bluebottles clustering on pits of offal. Wounded men lying in the shell-holes among decaying corpses, helpless under the scorching sun and bitter nights, under repeated shellings. Men with bowels dropping out, lungs shot away, with blinded, smashed faces or limbs blown into space. Men screaming and gibbering, wounded men hanging in agony on the barbed wire until a friendly spout of liquid fire shrivels them up like a fly in a candle.

Another English military mind finds war profoundly moral. "In the crash of conflict, in the horrors of battlefields piled with the dead, the dying and the wounded, a vast ethical intention has still prevailed.

Not necessarily in any given case, but absolutely certainly in the majority of cases, the triumph of the victor has been the triumph of the nobler soul of man."

So? How if the aggressor has ten or a hundred times as many warriors and guns as the attacked? What of the fate of the little peoples defending their independence against grasping empires wielding airplanes and poison gas? In what percentage of wars have the combatants been so well matched that *morale* decided?

Your true militarist pounces with malicious glee upon every failure to prevent a war but ignores the successes. If there still is fighting it shows how futile is the League of Nations. He is silent about the imposing series of cases in which the intervention of the League has prevented bloodshed. He regards every war that happens as a joke on the foolish, feckless friends of peace, but says nothing as to the hundreds of wars which since the peace movement has been in the world have been averted by the efforts of peace-lovers.

The militarists' faith in force rather than reason reveals itself in their manners toward those who dissent from them. The destruction and futility of the World War left the American people ready to give a sympathetic hearing to seekers for a better way to adjust international disputes. Accordingly the jingoes,

finding hard sledding for their schemes to militarize the rising generation, "go the limit" in muzzling their critics. They impute to them treasonous designs, smirch their personal character, poison the public mind against them in advance, arrange to have their meetings dispersed by the police or broken up by rowdies. Rather than face the home thrusts of their opponents the vitriol-throwers try to make them odious by charging that they are plotting to overthrow the institutions of their country.

In view of their reluctance to "come to the scratch" and their readiness to bully or gag or howl down their adversaries, the militarists must be pronounced to be the poorest sportsmen since the *ante-bellum* southern slave-holders. Nowhere in our land are the priests of Moloch persecuted. The armament boosters, the scaremongers, the sowers of distrust among nations, the big-navy champions, the compulsory-military-training advocates are never denied a hearing. It is only the friends of peace and international good understanding that are hounded.

What are the militarists driving at? For what do they want to drag us along the very path which lately led most of Europe into the gulf? Probably, so far as they have a design, it is in order to get our sovereignty extended southward to the lands about the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. I can offer no

proof; but there are a lot of "straws" pointing in this direction. The building of a great American empire to the south of us would be no very formidable job from a military point of view, but eventually it would involve us with European powers and therefore call for a large show of force. It is hardly to be doubted that if the militarists succeed in getting our people to construe "defense" not simply as security for American soil but as also the truculent upholding of the interests of American traders and investors and concessionnaires in any part of the world, then by like propaganda and intimidation they will be able to make over this democratic republic into a military empire.

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